DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 148 939 UD 017 651

AUTHOR Cross, William E., Jr.
TITLE Third Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology; Final Report.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 30 Mar 77
GRANT NIE-G-76-0059
NOTE 408p.; For related documents see UD 017 652 - UD 017 663 ; Some pages may be marginally legible due to print quality

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$22.09 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Black Role; *Blacks; *Conference Reports; *Conferences; *Psychologists; *Research Needs; Research Utilization

ABSTRACT

This volume presents a collection of papers and research reports by young black psychologists. These papers were presented at the Third Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology, whose purpose was to promote a research orientation in the field of black psychology. The papers deal with issues such as the following: race and social climate as determinants of effective adaptation in a university setting, experimental psychology from a black perspective, the relationship between black father-child interactions and self-esteem in preschool children, the development of self-concept and race attitudes in black children, the relationship between cognitive tasks and school achievement, sex differences and sex identification, and others. (Author/AM)

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FINAL REPORT

THIRD CONFERENCE ON EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN BLACK PSYCHOLOGY

William E. Cross, Jr.

Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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March 30, 1977

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UD 17651 — UD017 663

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THE THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN BLACK PSYCHOLOGY

October 28-31, 1976

Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

ABSTRACT

Within the last seven to ten years, an increasingly significant number of Black Americans have completed doctoral programs at academic-research oriented psychology departments. Due to the tremendous need for minority input at all levels of higher education, frequently these talented researchers feel compelled to become involved in numerous university committees on "minority affairs" which inevitably effects their research output. In other instances, the researchers end up as the only Black person in their respective psychology programs, and should their research focus on the Black experience, they may not receive the support and constructive criticism needed to sustain and refine such research ventures. For these and a variety of related reasons, recently a small group of Black psychologists, dedicated to the research process, came to the conclusion that there was a need to have a series of conferences that would emphasize the value of research in the analysis of issues related to Black Psychology. A plan evolved which called for a setting wherein a small group of young Black psychologists would come together to critique and present research papers, generate intellectual support for research projects that have not caught the fancy of mainstream psychology, and, to in general, promote a research orientation in the field of Black Psychology. The first such conference was held in June of 1974 at the University of Michigan and the second a year later at Columbia University. The following volume contains the papers presented at the Third Conference which was held in Ithaca, New York at Cornell University from the 28th to the 31st of October, 1976. The 1976 Conference was made possible by a grant from N.I.E.

3rd Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology

October 28-31, 1976 Cornell University

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"Race and Social Climate as determinants of Effective Adaptation in a university setting"

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Race and Social Climate as determinants of effective adaptation in a university setting

Increasingly, attention is being directed toward understanding the processes by which individuals learn to manage their lives in an effective, responsible and self-enhancing manner (Kelly, 1974). This represents an important shift in emphasis from clinically aberrant human behavior to adaptative or coping behavior, sometimes referred to as the "positive mental health movement." Several colleagues and I (Gatz, Barbarin & Tyler, 1975; Barbarin, Hurley & Mitchell, 1976) have been involved in a series of interrelated studies which explore how individuals cope effectively across a variety of settings. Currently, these studies are examining both individual psychosocial and community or systems competence across a wide age range including old age, adulthood and adolescence, and within communities that have widely varying demographic profiles. From this work is emerging a remarkably consistent pattern of behavior and attitudes which can be said to characterize effective coping. Tyler (1975) has described this pattern as consisting of a matrix of self perceptions, attitudes about how the world operates, and a related behavioral style.

The effective coper is characterized as possessing a moderately high self-evaluation and views himself as causally effective in producing both positive and negative outcomes in his life. In contrast, the ineffective coper is consumed in self doubt and tends to attribute the consequences of his actions to extrinsic factors. With regard to the world view, the effective coper develops a moderately trustful

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attitude toward people and on the basis of this trust establishes a network of mutually satisfying social relationships. Behaviorally the effective coper is characterized by "an actual problem-solving orientation, high initiative, realistic goal setting, substantial planning, forebearance, and effort in service of attaining goals, and a capacity for enjoying success, suffering failure and building from both," (Tyler, 1975). Although this competence configuration has been validated with several populations, it is pre-mature to suggest that this configuration of positive self evaluation, conviction about personal efficacy, trust and an active planful behavioral style is sufficient to explain effective adaptation across all settings. The delineation of this pattern provides a useful starting point for further explorations. Exactly how these patterns apply to a variety of age group and life situations is an empirical question now being subjected to more extensive investigation. Given the link between adaptive behavior and environment, it is reasonable to assume that patterns of effective coping will vary somewhat with the demands of one's life circumstances. The life situations of Blacks and Whites differ along several dimensions. Specifically, institutional and individual racism present a unique set of challenges and dilemmas to be resolved by Blacks and as a result, a somewhat unique configuration of self evaluation, world view and behavioral skills may be essential to handle adequately these special circumstances.

Several models have been suggested to describe coping behavior or "positive mental health" in Blacks. Thomas and Comer (1973) take the position that an essential ingredient of positive mental health is self-worth in the context of larger systems as well as within the groups from which one's primary identification emerges. Jones' (1973) formulation focuses on how Blacks relate to potentially oppressive institutions. In a review of the literature he concluded that Blacks who challenge or make demands of the system are healthier than those who simply acclimate to it. Wilcox (1973) elaborates on this relationship between coping skills in Blacks and the response to an indifferent or hostile environment. From his vantage point a competence configuration for Blacks must include:

(a) Recognition of the hostile character of society.

(b) Ability to interact with superordinates in a manner that does not accentuate one's lack of power.

(c) Refusal to abuse or be abused.

(d) An active stance toward shaping one's environment.

(e) A positive, internalized, cultural identity.

(f) An integration of affect, cognition and action.

These descriptive models of coping are compatible with each other and are consistent in their emphasis on self esteem, sensitivity to racism, a positive identification with one's ethnic group, and an active involvement in efforts to shape one's environment. Such models are very helpful in that they provide a starting point for research. Before plans for intervention can be based on these models, they should be tested and confirmed through empirical investigation. For this reason, these conceptualizations need to be subjected to empirical test to determine their validity and utility in describing effective coping. Such a test can be accomplished in two stages. Initially, the assumptions on which these models rest should be examined empirically and subsequently the extent to which the proposed configuration actually predicts effective coping can be determined. It is the former that constitutes the purpose of this paper.

The critical assumptions underlying these models are that perceptions of the environment influence coping and that racial differences exist with respect to several of the ingredients of coping behavior and attitudes.

The preceding review suggests the primacy of several factors with regard to positive mental health adaptation and coping in Blacks: self esteem, ability to process external feedback in a manner that enhances self, a strong and positive group identity, awareness of the influence that systems exercise over one's life without a diminishing sense of self-efficacy. It appears important to examine empirical evidence which demonstrates a relationship between these elements and the life situation of Blacks. Barbarin (1976) reviews in detail a related set of three exploratory investigations designed to examine empirically the extent to which such factors are actually related to effective functioning in Blacks.

Study 1 investigates the relationship among (a) self esteem, (b) attitudes - behaviors indicative of one's involvement in Black liberation movements, and (c) psychosocial competence, (Maish, 1975). Following the arguments of Wilcox, it was reasoned that Blacks who show a greater affinity toward involvement in efforts to improve the life situations of Blacks as a group, should feel better about themselves and consequently be more effective copers. Similarly, the level of self esteem, and involvement in the Black struggle, whether politically, culturally, or economically, should significantly correlate with each other and with psychosocial competence. The results provide partial support for these hypotheses. Self esteem and behavioral competence in Blacks are highly correlated. Attitudes and behavior related to the Black movement do not have a simple relationship to competence and self esteem. Instead there appear to be at least two distinct patterns depending on the extent to which one espouses a Black power ideology. For those high in Black power ideology, behavioral competence is related to placing priority on Black culture and the creation of cohesiveness among Blacks. Among those low in espousal of Black power ideology, competence is associated with the extent to which they are militant in their stance but emphasize political means and set priority on economic development of Black people. If we are permitted to use stereotypes, the two models of competent Black people might be the Pan Africanist who emphasizes cultural identity and the individual who is active in the NAACP or Urban League who may develop a somewhat militant stance in advocating change but whose efforts are focused on the political and economic issues affecting the lives of Black people.

In summary the above study suggests that behavior and attitudes toward active involvement in efforts to improve the condition of Blacks is related to competence but this relationship is a complex one.

Study II examines whether locus of control is related to political activism in Blacks (Shorter, 1975). Of particular concern was the relative importance of beliefs in personal, and collective, or chance control as determinants of active involvement in Black issues. The data demonstrates a clear-cut relationship between high level of political activism and a combination of belief in personal and in system control. In effect, Blacks who believe that they have control over their own lives but that powerful others and systems exercise control over the lives of Black people are more likely to be active in efforts to change the life condition of Blacks as a group. Thus Study I and Study II provide partial support for current models of competence based on internality with respect to personal control, externality with regard to powerful other-system control, active involvement in the Black struggle and a moderately high level of self esteem (Tyler, 1978; Wilcox, 1973; Thomas and Comer, 1973). The latter factors are related to each other and predictive of competent functioning in Blacks.

An important element missing from the models proposed by Thomas and Comer (1973) and Wilcox (1973) is a specification of the mechanism by which perceptions of the environment influences adaptive behavior in Blacks. If the environment is hostile and alien as suggested, it is reasonable to infer that the manner in which Blacks process inputs from the environment becomes a critical factor in describing effective functioning. This is particularly true because of the profound impact that such environmental input may have on self esteem, a central component of most models of positive mental health.

Study III examines the impact of external feedback on self evaluation of performance (Barbarin, in press). Black and White college students were asked to evaluate their performance on an academic task with and without external feedback. All participants when given positive feedback showed moderate increases in self evaluation. When given negative feedback, Blacks, especially Black males sharply lowered their evaluation. This decrease occurred in spite of the fact that little change occurred in actual performance. This study suggests that environmental input may influence the extent to which an individual values himself and his performance. When the environment provides a favorable set of circumstances the individual views self positively and conversely, when the environment is negative the opposite is true.

The position taken here is that the development of coping skills (positive mental health) is not only a function of individual skills and attitudes but is also linked to environmental factors (Barker, 1973; Moos, 1976). Social climate is one way that environmental influences on individual behavior have been conceptualized. It refers to the perception of or reactions toward the processes and behaviors (procedures) of a particular setting. These perceptions constitute the manner in which an individual organizes his experience within that environment. In essence, it is a cognitive variable which has possible mediating influences on individual behavior. Schneider (1975) suggests that perceptions of organizational or social climate impact on individual behavior in as far as the individual tends to alter his behavior in conformity with or in opposition to the perceived norms and expectations of that environment. Thus the individual either achieves a homeostatic balance between environment and behavior or sets up an adversarial and conflicting relationship. The environment so conceived may not only provide behavioral norms and elicit such responses as achievement or affiliation on the one hand but on the other hand may proscribe or reduce the probability of such behaviors. Given the strong link between environment and behavior it seems important to explore further its relationship to coping.

Statement of the Problem

Current models of positive mental health of Blacks rests on two major assumptions. The first is that the environment plays a critical role in the development of coping styles. Most models also agree that the environment which provides a context for the lives of Black people tends to be more negative than is generally true for whites. Given this situation Blacks should be inclined to perceive the environment as hostile and develop a style of coping that corresponds to these perceptions. A second assumption is that individuals who perceive the environment as negative will tend to respond to environmental demands in a different manner. It is evident then that these models are based on the existence of racial differences and on the perceptions of social climate as critical determinants of coping. The purpose of this investigation is to provide a preliminary examination of these assumptions. Specifically this research is designed for the following purposes:

1. To examine patterns of racial differences with respect to dimensions of coping styles. It is expected that racial differences will be found in the way that the environment is perceived (social climate) and in the coping styles developed to deal with the environment (i.e., locus of control, problem solving styles, resources utilized).
2. To determine whether a positive or negative perception of the social climate is related to positive mental health as defined here. It is expected that perception of the environment as supportive and positive will be related to more favorable self evaluation, self efficacy, more active problem solving and a greater knowledge of resources available.

METHOD

Subjects

Fifty-six White and forty-four Black undergraduate students at the University of Maryland volunteered to participate in this experiment. The average age of the subjects is 19.7 years and the average time spent at the university was 2.3 years. Volunteers were recruited from undergraduate psychology, sociology and Afro-American studies courses.

Procedure

All participants were asked to attend group sessions at which they completed the following measures:

(a) Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, a one-hundred item measure examining several aspects of self evaluation from academic behavior to personal and social behavior. This measure yields a total score, a self criticism score and eight other subscale scores;

(b) Van Slaumbrock system control scale, which measures the extent to which individuals attribute control over their lives to larger political or social systems;

(c) The Levenson I-E, a locus of control scale which yields three subscales scores measuring the extent to which control of behavior is attributed to self, chance, or powerful others;

(d) Social Climate Scale, a measure of four dimensions of social climate at the university. These dimensions are relationships (inte personal), personal development (academic), system maintenance (service), and system feedback.

(e) Coping skills, a measure of coping skills was developed based on a model of community competence proposed by Iscoe (1974). This model proposes two processes as critical to coping: problem solving and resource knowledge and utilization.

Problem Solving

A set of problems typically faced by students was developed. These problems focused on academic, financial, health, and administrative areas. For example, the student is asked what he would do if the school raised tuition to a level he could not afford or if he were assigned a paper with a rapidly approaching deadline and had made little progress. Responses were scored for style (extent of active involvement in solving the problem), the types of resources used, and the locus of blame for the problem.

Resources: Knowledge and Utilization

In this subsection the student is asked about several resources provided by the university. They are asked whether they know what services are provided, personnel provides services, and about their use and evaluation of these services. The resources included in this section are many of the formal sources of assistance as the financial aid office, the departmental offices, the counseling center, the health center, the information desk, and the minority student program office.

Results

Items from the Social Climate measure were combined and mean scores were computed. Subjects averaging above 4.0 were categorized as negative, those scoring below 4.0 as positive. This breakdown resulted in 28 White and 13 Black positive climate subjects and 28 White and 31 Black negative climate subjects. All subsequent ANOVA were carried out using race and social climate as classifying variables. Pearson Product Moment correlations were computed between the Social Climate measure and other measures (see Table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here

Social Climate correlated with both self-esteem, and individual control for Black students only. This indicates that for Blacks, the more negatively one views the environment as responding to self, the lower is the level of one's self evaluation and sense of control over one's life. Conversely, the perception that the environment is somewhat responsive to one's needs and perspective, the better one feels about self. Thus, for Blacks, perception of self and environment are intertwined. For Whites there is a significant positive correlation between self criticism and social climate. Whites who tend to perceive the social climate as negative generally are more willing to admit unfavorable things about themselves.

SOCIAL CLIMATE

Although positive and negative climate participants did not differ on self evaluation as measured by the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (see Table 2), negative climate individuals were significantly less defensive and more willing to admit unfavorable things about themselves than those who perceived the social environment as positive, f(1,100) = 4.64, $p < .05$. Little difference was noted on Locus

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Insert Table 2 about here
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of Control - personal, chance, system or powerful others. Positive and negative social climate groups differed, as might be expected on each of the subscales of the social climate measure. In each case the positive climate group experienced significantly less environmental stress in the interpersonal, academic and service-related areas. (See Table 3.)

Insert Table 3 about here

With respect to university resources, students in the positive social climate group were able to enumerate a great number of strengths in the university environment than were students in the negative social climate group, $f(1,100) = 6.27$, $p<.02$.

Coping Styles

Responses to the problems were coded in three different ways; first, for the style which indicates the level of involvement or active engagement of the problem; second, the types of resources used ranging from formal services provided by the university to informal services available through one's family or social network and to self-related resources; third, the problems were rated to indicate attribution made regarding ownership or responsibility for the problem. We rated the individual's perception of the problem as a systems vs. individual problem. Perception of the social climate did not affect the extent to which a student involved himself in problem solving nor did it influence the tendency to select formal or informal resources to assist in achieving the solution, but it did influence who students felt were responsible for the problem. The negative climate students were more apt to blame the university system for the existence of the problem than were positive climate students f(1,100) = 7.74, $p < .01$. (See Table 4).

Insert Table 4 about here

Although there was no main effect for social climate on resource utilization, negative climate students tended to know about and utilize more student-operated or minority-related programs than formally sponsored university programs such as counseling services and the divisional offices (see Table 5).

Insert Table 5 about here

Racial Differences

Although Blacks and Whites did not differ with regard to self evaluation (TSCS), Whites attained higher self criticism scores than Blacks, F(1,100) = 5.67, $p < .01$. Further Blacks and Whites did not differ on the extent to which they perceived themselves or chance as causally effective in controlling their lives. Both groups felt that they exercised relatively greater personal control than did chance or fate. However, Black students felt that in addition to the personal control they exercised, powerful others also exerted considerable influence over events and outcomes in their lives. This sentiment was not shared at the same level by White students, f(1,100) = 8.30, p .001. With regard to problem-solving style, there was no significant main effect on race. However, it is interesting to note the interaction between race and social climate on problem-solving style. While Blacks and Whites in the negative climate condition did not differ, Blacks in the positive climate condition were more active in problem solving than Whites in the positive climate condition. This interaction approaches an acceptable level of significance, f(1,100) = 3.39, $p<.06$. With regard to the use of resources, Blacks under both high and low negative feedback conditions are significantly more likely to rely on formal as opposed to informal or self-related sources, f(1,100) = 11.24, $p<.001$. Blacks and Whites did not differ in their attributions of blame for problems. This same pattern was found on the Resource Utilization Index. Blacks were more likely than Whites to know about and utilize resources formally provided within the university whether they were operated by university personnel or students. But when asked about the strengths of the university, Blacks enumerate significantly fewer strengths than did their White counterparts (see Table 6).

Discussion

The purpose of this investigation was to test two assumptions underlying current descriptive models of positive mental health for Blacks, namely, the adverse impact of environment or of social climate on self evaluation and adaptive styles, and to delineate racial differences in coping. It was suggested earlier that the current models of mental health, adaptation or coping consisting of positive self evaluation, active problem solving style, planning and pursuing goals, and a trustful attitude towards the world, although useful, might be further refined to accentuate dimensions of coping unique to Blacks. It was noted previously that external evaluation and other environmental factors such as racism and differential expectations for Black students constitute a potent force possibly effecting Black students' sense of self esteem and coping style. We sought to examine here how negative expectations or social climate impact on the self attitude and behavioral styles of Blacks.

Social Climate was expected to have had an impact on coping styles in several ways. It was reasoned that individuals who experienced their interpersonal and academic needs as unmet, whose relationship with university personnel as marked by disparagement or cool indifference, and who perceive the university as an alien setting devoid of emotional warmth might accept a presumably deflated estimate of self, view themselves as powerless outsiders and rely primarily on their own limited resources to solve the problems they might face in that setting. Consequently it was expected that perception of the social climate as negative might result in a lower self esteem, external orientation, low level of knowledge and use of formal university resources and a relatively more passive problem solving style than those who perceived the university's social climate as positive. The data partially supports these expected relationships. The major differences between positive and negative social climate students centered around self criticism, perception of university resources, system blame for problems, and patterns of resource utilization. Those in the negative social climate group did admit more unfavorable things about themselves. This difference may represent a lower level of defensiveness and acceptance of their own failings than a sense of inadequacy. Thus this investigation has not established a direct relationship between self esteem and social climate but there does appear to be a link between the manner in which one approaches evaluations of the environment and of self. As expected, the strong links between social climate and self perception held true only for Blacks. Thus for Whites the character of the environment appears to play only a minor role in the development of self perceptions. Those who perceive the social climate as negative to no surprise are unable to enumerate as many strengths to be found in the university community as are those who perceive the environment as positive. Negative climate individuals also place the blame for problems squarely on the shoulder of the university system whether this problem is academic, financial or health related. Although negative climate students clearly admit to failings, they externalize responsibility for problems and thus preserve a modicum of self esteem. This external orientation is not without its costs. It may set up a situation in which students feel alienated from formal channels of help because they are identified as being the source or origin of many problems to begin with. Consequently students in the negative climate group are more likely to know about and use informal or student-run services than those provided by university personnel.

Race. It was also expected that Black students would differ from Whites on dimensions related to coping because of differences in their life situations. The results support this position. For Black students alone, there are significant relationships between self esteem, personal control, and social climate such that the more negative the environment, the lower the level of self esteem and belief in self efficacy. The data suggests that negative social climate, i.e., the perception of the environment as non-supportive and denigrating of self has a differential impact on the self evaluation of Black and White students. Since there were no significant Race x Social Climate interactions on either self esteem or personal control, this relationship must be interpreted with caution until additional data are available for clarification of this point. Other differences in coping style received clearer support. Blacks were less self-critical than Whites. Instead, they tended to recognize the control exercised over their lives by powerful others to a far greater extent than White students. Consequently blame for the problems they encountered in the university setting were more likely to be attributed to people who control the university than to themselves. Negative perceptions of the university is further supported by the fact that Black students cited fewer strengths in the university than Whites. Although Blacks were just as active in problem solving as Whites, they surprisingly tended to rely more on formal resources than Whites. This phenomenon appears to contradict the commonly held notion that Black students tend not to know about or tend to underutilize the resources made available to them in the university setting. The fact that they do tend to rely more on formal than informal may be attributable to the fact that they have fewer non-university resources to draw upon for problem solving. In the case of financial need for example, White students frequently mention the use of family or private resources but Black students mention the financial aid office as the major resource. It is interesting to note the dilemna many Black students face when attempting to resolve such university-related problems. They view the university and its resources as alien, denigrating, and frequently the origin of the problem they face, yet because a paucity of alternative resources, they must turn to that same institution to attain a solution of the problem. The process by which this dilemma is resolved and the mental health consequences of that resolution are worthy of additional investigation. Finally an important distinction between Blacks and Whites with regard to the prediction of coping appears to occur along the self-other dimension. For Whites effective coping seems to be most related to how they feel about themselves (self esteem, self criticism, personal control). However, for Blacks the best predictors of effective functioning relate to how much control they feel others have over their lives (powerful others, system control, individual control). It may be that for Whites the dimension of control is not at issue as they deal with life and as a result can be more self-oriented but for Blacks their ability to function in a predominantly White setting hinges on how they resolve the contradiction of self efficacy and control that others have over them.

The data also provide partial support for current models of competence in Blacks. The most important predictors of coping based on these models appear to be self esteem and self efficacy combined with a realization of the influence exercised by powerful others. These findings essentially replicate the results of Shorter (1975). Finally, social climate does appear to be an important supplement to these current models. It is especially relevant to understanding how individuals utilize resources made available to them. When the social climate is positive individuals tend to experience all resources as accessible and useful but when the social climate is negative, individuals are more selective and consequently confined in their ability to select the most appropriate resource for a particular problem.

The investigation presented here is preliminary. Thus findings must be interpreted with caution. Further investigations are under way to replicate this study. The results presented do provide a first step in the testing and validation of models of positive mental health. Additional work is needed to elaborate and refine these models.

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Table 1. Correlation Matrix for Black & White Samples

on Measure of Social Climate and Adaptation

	Self Concept	Individual Control	Chance Control	Powerful Others	System Control	Negative Feedback	Self Criticism	Style	Resource	Eval. Res.	Index	Social Climate
Self Concept	Black (39 White (59)	.01 .37**	-.38** -.10	-.32* .02	-.07 .04	-.02 -.02	.79*** .20	.00 .20	-.04 -.16	.17 -.11	.14 .16	-.31* -.04
Individual Control			.05 .20	.61*** .32**	.30* .21	-.39** -.20	-.16 .31**	-.20 -.02	.26 -.18	.14 -.20	.15 -.05	-.37* -.09
Chance Control				.47*** .63***	-.20 -.25*	-.10 -.07	-.08 .10	-.08 .07	.01 -.09	-.11 .04	-.15 .11	.09 .05
Powerful Others					.11 -.10	-.10 .07	-.09 .21	.08 .06	.26 -.37**	.06 -.11	.07 -.09	.05 .21
System Control						-.22 .06	-.03 -.01	.22 -.10	.03 -.06	.28* .12	.18 .16	-.18 .10
Negative Feedback							.20 .25*	-.03 .19	-.10 -.21	-.14 -.03	-.16 -.01	.85*** .80***
Self Criticism								.11 .20	.01 -.03	-.16 -.25**	.03 -.16	-.02 .27*
Style									-.13 .28*	.34* -.27*	.25 .20	.19 .09
Resource										-.12 .07	-.32* -.09	-.06 -.13
Evaluation Resources											.52*** -.05	.03 .07

/p. 25

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* p ≤ .05
** p ≤ .01
*** p ≤ .001

Table 2

Mean Scores on Tennessee Self Concept and Levenson Control Scales by Race and System Feedback

	Blacks		Whites		F		
	Positive (13)	Negative (31)	Positive (28)	Negative (28)	Race(R)	Social Climate(S)	RxS
Tennessee							
Self Concept	39.5	39.1	42.5	44.7	1.73	1.33	.131
(sd)	24.9	18.3	16.3	8.8			
Self Criticism	35.3	42.8	43.5	49.4	5.67**	4.64*	.055
(sd)	22.0	17.5	11.8	8.9			
Levenson							
Personal	33.4	30.0	32.8	30.8	.018	2.48	.174
(sd)	7.9	8.1	7.3	7.7			
Chance	20.4	21.6	20.7	21.4	.002	.436	.042
(sd)	5.3	6.8	6.8	6.9			
Powerful Others	23.3	23.0	22.4	24.5	.833	.709	.579
(sd)	8.4	7.0	7.4	6.9			
System Control	6.4	5.0	6.2	6.1	.877	.712	1.020
(sd)	3.2	3.0	2.7	3.2			

**p - .001

Table 3

University deficits

Mean Rating of Academic service related and interpersonal problems encountered at the University (1 = not a problem, and 7 = an extremely pressing problem)

	Blacks		Whites		F		
	Low Negative	High Negative	Low Negative	High Negative	Race	Social Climate	RxS
Academic	4.06	6.25	3.94	5.40	3.56	33.09***	1.33
(sd)	2.00	1.40	1.30	1.30			
Service-Related	4.23	5.98	5.93	4.85	3.00	5.69**	3.49
(sd)	2.60	1.60	1.60	1.30			
Interpersonal	3.23	5.71	4.64	4.94	.034	9.96***	9.08**
(sd)	2.60	1.30	1.80	1.30			

Table 4

Problem Solving

	Blacks		Whites		F		
	Low Negative	High Negative	Low Negative	High Negative	Race	Social Climate	RxS
Style	2.51	2.41	2.91	2.41	1.31	1.78	3.39*
(sd)	.91	.84	.93	.84			
Resource	1.90	1.80	2.40	2.30	11.24***	.689	.01
(sd)	.55	.52	.73	.95			
Locus	1.50	1.30	1.70	1.30	.626	7.74**	.243
(sd)	.75	.56	.55	.30			

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* p = .06
** p = .01
*** p ≤ .001

Table 4

Resource Utilization

	Blacks		Whites		F		
	Low Negative	High Negative	Low Negative	High Negative	Race	Feedback	RxF
Division Office	6.16 4.40	5.36 2.10	4.39 1.70	5.10 1.90	5.275*	.490	1.010
Counseling Services	5.33 3.50	4.36 2.20	3.90 1.20	3.78 1.90	4.159*	.968	.895
Black Student Union	4.41 2.00	6.01 2.00	3.48 .99	3.64 1.90	39.1***	1.170	.702
Student Government	5.50 1.90	4.57 1.40	3.90 1.20	3.70 1.43	5.23**	.020	.237
Minority Student Program		6.07 1.90	3.51 .80	3.70 1.10	52.60***	1.220	.353

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* $p < .05$
** $p \leq .02$
*** $p \leq .001$

Table 5

Quality of Community Support

	Blacks		Whites		F		
	Low Negative	High Negative	Low Negative	High Negative	Race	Feedback	RxF
Satisfaction	6.33 2.30	5.25 2.40	5.48 1.90	5.75 1.30	.001	.29	2.43
Community Support	6.00 1.40	6.85 1.60	5.77 1.80	6.17 2.90	1.68	2.17	.318
Number of Strengths Cited	1.25 .70	.82 .70	1.67 .70	1.32 .70	9.37**	6.27*	.050

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* $p < .02$
** $p < .003$

ED148941

Journal of Black Studies

In Press

Experimental Psychology From A Black Perspective: Issues and Examples

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Experimental Psychology From A Black Perspective: Issues and Examples

Over the next few pages, I would like to share some of my thoughts, biases, and educated guesses that pertain to experimental psychology as it might relate to the psycho-educational needs of Afro-American children. My present intention is to arouse the reader's interests, raise what I feel are some important questions and concerns, and detail some of my own strategies aimed toward resolution. In short, my mission is to stimulate the reader's thinking and not to provide ultimate answers.

I define myself professionally as a Black man who is an experimental psychologist. In this capacity, my principal interest is in the enhancement of the academic/task performance of Afro-American children. Now it's no secret that by and large Black childrens school performance can be characterized by failure. To the extent that this is true, it poses an issue of great importance in particular to Black America. Unless we can achieve the goal of greater numbers of Black children successfully passing through the "educational pipeline," then we will have a vast reservoir of human potential that will never be fully maximized. Furthermore, I have viewed with considerable disdainment and disgust, the voluminous amount of theorizing and data purporting to investigate the poor academic/task performance of Black children, that has been offered by "mainstream psychology" over the past 10-15 years. In dealing with all this work, I have become convinced of the cruciality of assumptions, presuppositions and cultural biases in social science/ social action research. In short as Ginsburg (1972) has said, "the idea of science as an objective machine leading inexorably to the truth is fallacious." I have not come to reject the importance of empirical research, just to put it in its proper scope. As a result, I have tried to forge out a fresh presuppositional framework which can be coupled with the relatively "traditional" research process, that will allow me to work from an Afro-American perspective in experimental psychology.

Now the question might arise, "don't experimental psychologists go around running rats in mazes?" Let me confess that I have run a few rats (and pigeons) in my day. However, it is perhaps critical to explicate the range and domain of experimental psychology, for I am sure some ambiguity exists. Experimental psychology, can legitimately be viewed as a family of methodologies and as a content area. When viewed in a methodological sense, generally speaking, it represents a reliance on empirical research characterized by controlled observation and manipulation of independent variables to ascertain their "effects" on prescribed dependent measures. Seen in this light, it occupies subsets of other content areas in psychology e.g., experimental social psychology, experimental child psychology or experimental psychopathology. Accordingly, it can be distinguished from other families of methodologies such as the clinical approach or the field-observational approach. On the other hand, it can be viewed as a content area which embodies the so-called basic psychological processes such as learning, motivation, perception, memory, language, and cognition. Needless to say a "true blue" experimental psychologist employs the experimental method to study the basic psychological processes. Now it appears to me that, ideally, "true blue" experimental psychologists ought to be able to make valuable input regarding the classroom functioning of children. Their primary focus is on factors such as learning, memory and motivation, and clearly these are the fundamental processes involved in the classroom. More importantly, why should we not look to experimental psychology to guide us in facilitating the task/academic performance of Afro-American children? Unfortunately, as far as I'm concerned, experimental psychology does not have a good track record when it comes to social action oriented research. I submit that understanding of the actual nature of scientific endeavors. The objective quality of empirical research has been taken too seriously. In short experimental psychology viewed as a content area, has apparently not fully comprehended the delineations of and demarcations of experimental psychology viewed as a methodology (for fuller explication see Braginsky & Braginsky, 1974; Caplan & Nelson, 1973; Clark (x), 1972; Ginsburg, 1972; Boykin, 1975).

Let us briefly examine some of the assumptions, delineations and delimations embodied in the empirical research enterprise in an effort to put it in its proper perspective. Once this working base has been established, I will then outline some of my conceptualizations, empirical undertakings, intuitions and speculations, which when integrated point to some potentially fruitful directions that one Black experimental psychologist has undertaken in an effort to operationalize an Afro-American perspective in experimental psychology.

The Empirical Research Method

The so called empirical research method is an important means of gathering information, gaining insight, and producing convincing evidence to the extent that it is systematic, orderly, and painstakingly rigorous. One must realize, however, that it is but one tool albeit a powerful one, for gaining insight, etc. For as Scott and Wertheimer (1962) have pointed out, there are other means. Intuition, common sense, mystical experience, suggestion, and acquiescence to authority are other important and valid devices. Western empiricistic man has exhalted the empirical methodological approach because of its alleged "supreme objectivity". One of the intents of this paper is to demonstrate that it is not so objective. Yet this does not mean the approach should be abandoned entirely. It is still a tool, one to be employed. Like anything else, this approach has it's own set of implicit assumptions which are critical to the acceptance of its validity.

According to Scott and Wertheimer (1962), there are at least five such metatheoretical assumptions. (1) Induction can yield reliable and valid information. In other words, one can come to know about a large number of people, places or things by examining but a few. (2) The deductive process is a valid one. There is a certain faith in mathematical metaphors and Aristotelian logical analysis and reasoning. (3) No event is anamalous. All events have causal explanations. Essentially, this represents a belief in determinism although not necessarily of the mechanistic variety. (4) The occurrence of events in nature follow orderly and regular patterns which can be apprehended through the methods of science (e.g., hypothesis generation, control of systematic or extraneous variance, systematic gathering of sense data and inferential culmination). (5) There is a deep trust and unquestioning dependence on the observational-judgements of the scientist. As Scott and Wertheimer (1962) state "...this involves reliance (solely) on the scientists' perceptual and sensory abilities and also on his memory..." In its broadest context, this implies that the scientist-researcher can perform his work in a value-free vacumm. If there is a value label attached to a phenomenon, it too can be "passively" apprehended. Apparently, somehow the scientists' training must have transformed him into a dispassionate neutral observer who can act as a null instrument as he makes contact with the phenomena under scrutiny.

Now I am willing to accept the plausibility of the first four tenets if the claims embodied are toned down somewhat. For even in our everyday lives we surely engage in induction and deduction and behave as though there was a certain deterministic regularity in the events that we confront. However, I must take issue with the fifth tenet. I would argue that the judgments a scientist-researcher makes can not be separated from his own presuppositions and cultural biases and values. To accept the fifth tenet, I would argue, requires the adoption of a Naive Realism epistemological base (Kessen, 1966). At least in the area of race-related research, the position that man merely passively apprehends the order and lawfullness of the world through his sense organs, does not seem tenable. A more tenable epistemological position appears to be Immanuel Kant's critical idealism (Butler, 1968) which posits that knowledge is a constructive process and therefore to perceive is to interpret. The Naive Realism requirement that man be able to step outside of the world and reflect dispassionately back on it, also does not seem tenable. Instead the philosophy quite prevalent in many African tribal societies (Mbiti, 1970), which espouses that man cannot be separated from nature for the two are in continuous harmonic unity, seems more tenable. According to this philosophy it is absurd to believe that man can separate himself from himself. Evidence is mounting in the psychological literature which argues against the credibility of the claim that the scientist-researcher can modulate passively his sense experience irrespective of his own personal, cultural and experiential biases and presuppositions (Braginsky & Braginsky, 1974; Kuhn, 1962; Gordon, 1973; Ryan, 1971; Sherwood & Nataupsky, 1968).

As Ryan (1971) & Caplan & Nelson (1973) have pointed out, in the area of race-related research, there exists a significant split in the presuppositional infrastructure that characterizes the current work. On the one hand, there is the victim-centered perspective. Briefly, this approach would operate from the framework that the Black child himself is to be blamed for his failure in school. As a consequence, research and theoretical thrusts are aimed at uncovering self-related phenomena that may lead to poor scholastic performance e.g., "inferior" genetic structure, "disorganized and cognitively inept" family background, "poor" self-image, etc. On the other hand, there is the system-centered perspective. Research and theoretical endeavors emanating from this approach would place the burden of responsibility more with structural aspects of the school environment. To date, the victim-centered approach has been the overwhelmingly dominant theme. For example, Caplan & Nelson (1973) surveyed all the research whose summaries were contained in the 1st 6-months of Psychological Abstracts, that pertained to social "problems" vis a vis Black Americans. They found that 82% of all the work abstracted could be characterized as victim-centered. As I have pointed out elsewhere, Boykin (1975) the victim-centered perspective has not been particularly fruitful in providing research that is socially-valuable to the psychological concerns of Black Americans. This has been the case for essentially three reasons:

(1) By promoting "exceptionalistic explanations for universalistic problems" (Ryan, 1971), it yields analyses inadequate for the task (2) it's blatant eugenical and euthenical social action implications are potentially physically, politically and culturally detrimental to an entire race of people. (3) Through the systematic denial or underplaying of the existence of valid cultural practices, traditions and adaptive styles, it fails to recognize fully the cultural integrity and adaptive strengths of Black people (See Boykin, 1975, for a fuller development of this argument). If these indictments are plausible, one may wonder why the victim-centered perspective has been the modal theme. I believe there are at least 4 interlocking reasons. For one, the protestant ethic (Weber 1958) remains a critical underpinning of American society. Translated into social-behavioral terms, this ethic espouses the view that individual strivings and achievement are of utmost importance. If one fails to accomplish his ambition, it is because he did not strive hard enough and not that the system failed him. He has no one to blame but himself. Former president Richard Nixon captured the gist of this ethic quite adequately in a 1971 Labor Day address when he stated "The dignity of work, the value of achievement, the morality of self-reliance, none of these is going out of style". Relatedly, there is a lingering influence of Social Darwinism (Loye, 1971, Hofstadter, 1955). This notion, excedingly popular in turn of the century America, is the social-behavioral counterpart of evolution theory. The notion of survival of the fittest is taken out of its biological context and put in a purely social one. Society, per se, is viewed as a "sacred cow" with which it is patently inappropriate to tamper. The social order as it exists came to be that way through

natural selection. At best, the unfortunate members can be trained to cope better with society. But "its not nice to fool with mother nature." Thirdly, it is generally believed to be operationally and methodologically easier to study individual-based factors as opposed to more systemic-institutional ones. Perhaps more importantly, the ensuing social-change implications that follow from a "person-blame" approach are obviously easier to implement than those which follow from a "system-blame" orientation (Caplan & Nelson, 1973). Gardner (1973) underscores this point quite clearly when he discusses implications of a "form-attending" vs. a "color-attending" perceptual style.

> If the experience of formal education increases form-attending as Gotts states, and if attribute attending is as amenable to shaping as he suggests, we still have more than one societal alternative. One response to such a finding is to define form attending as an educationally desirable behavior and proceed to shape it vigorously, thus correcting a deficit in the disadvantaged child. Another response, which is more ambitious and which certainly presents a less tractable research issue, is to shape the institutions of society to make better use of color. p. 236-237.

Finally , in many cases, it is apparently more politically expedient to study the victimized. That social-action oriented research often consciously or unconsciously tends to serve the interests of the ruling economic-political order is elucidated quite clearly by Caplan & Nelson (1973) through a series of rhetorical questions:

> Why do we constantly study the poor rather than the non-poor in order to understand the origins of poverty? Why do we study nonachievement among minority group members as undesirable behavior, but do not study exaggerated profit motive among "successful" business men as a form of deviance? Why do we study the use of marijuana as a "drug problem," but not federal government involvement in the drugging of "minimal brain dysfunction" (MBD) children in our grammar schools? p. 207.

The answer to these questions should be obvious. To study the latter members of each pair of alternatives would have direct implications for social change that would significantly undermine the political-economic status quo of contemporary American society.

All in all, if we (1) realize that there is potential value in empirical research as a tool for gaining insight, gathering information and producing convincing evidence (2) acknowledge the critical influence of assumptions, presuppositions and cultural biases in the research process and (3) accept that the traditionally dominant perspective regarding the study of social issues concerning Black Americans is unfruitful, then I argue we must utilize an alternative perspective if socially valuable research is to be forthcoming. As I have argued elsewhere (Boykin, in press), a "system-centered" perspective provides a useful beginning for a viable alternative viewpoint. However, as it is espoused, there is a failure to acknowledge, promote and advocate unambiguously, the positive psychological development of Black people with an emphasis on their cultural and/or adaptive strengths and styles (See Ryan, 1971, chapter 3 5 & 10). Consequently in my own work, I have adopted the stance that the research and/or theoretical endeavor should have clearly stated or implied heuristic value for Black people and emphasize their cultural and/or adaptive strengths and styles in as positive a light as possible. Further the thrust should focus moreso on systemic-institutional variables that need to be altered to provide a more optimal match with the strengths and styles of Black people. I will now turn my attention to some of my conceptions and actual or projected empirical thrusts which I believe are consistent with the above considerations.

Selected Stylistic Expressions: Foundational Remarks

In order to present my arguments in a manageable fashion, it is necessary that I establish some boundaries in which to operate. Although I believe my thoughts have greater situational generality, I will concentrate on (1) specifying selected cultural-adaptive features of Black children that I believe are a function of their home and immediate ecological environments. (2) delineating how these styles and strengths impinge on the primary interaction between the Black student and the instructor/instruction. The implicit objective is of course to comment on cultural-adaptive styles and strengths that may help to facilitate the academic/task performance of Afro-American children.

Since the notion of a "style" will be relied on heavily in the following discussion, it is critical to provide a working understanding of what is implied by this term. By a style I mean an enduring, even habitual pattern of reactions, attitudes or overt behavioral manifestations that are a function of demographic, cultural, social and other environmental factors. A given person's stylistic expression is perhaps also modulated by his inherent temperament. As described, a style is not unalterable or immutable. However, since it is habitual in nature, one does not change a style until it has been called to his attention and/or he feels the need to make a conscious effort to change.

There are at least three distinct but interrelated realms of one's home (and immediate ecological) environment that may aid in the characterization of some critical adaptive/cultural styles and strengths of Black children: The social-affective, the conceptual-informational and the vervistic. That which is embodied in or implied by the first two is fairly straightforward and well understood. However the third dimension has not yet received significant systematic attention (Boykin, in press). Therefore it requires some clarification. I use the term vervistic to refer to the level of spatial and temporal stimulus energy transformation and distribution in either an individual's exogenous or his proprioceptive environment. In slightly more colloquial terms, it refers to the physical level and variety of stimulation impinging on the person that is either externally produced or internally induced. The vervistic dimension bears some resemblance to Berlyne's (1971) psychophysical domain.

In light of the above classification scheme, I believe there are at least 3 conceptually separate psychological/behavioral dimensions for which we can specify qualitative or quantitative uniqueness or salience for the Black child, and that may have implications for maximally facilitating academic/task performance. My own research and theoretical efforts have been aimed almost exclusively at the vervistic domain and therefore I will concentrate on this realm in some length. However, brief discussions of the affective and cognitive domains are in order.

Affective Considerations

Black people have developed a cultural style such that there is a relatively greater emphasis placed on affect than is generally the case among Western man. I do not believe that this implies that Black people are an affective people as opposed to cognitive. Instead, it is posited that from the Black child's perspective, there is at least as great an importance attached to the affective component as to the cognitive one in teacher-student interactions. What is suggested is not an affective-cognitive "zero-sum game" (See for example, Frankelstein, cited in Bilski-Cohen, 1974) but equal salience of the affective and cognitive interaction domains. Somewhat more specifically, I propose that there is at least as much sensitivity to periconceptual cues that are non-format specific. I believe this is tantamount to the issue of rapport between the teacher and the student. It is worth noting that the relative void in systematic attention given to affective factors in the traditional classroom has been lamented by many psychologists and educators (e.g., Silberman, 1970; Biber, et al., 1969; Rogers, 1972; Piestrup, 1973). The actual behavioral/psychological processes involved here would need to be clarified and specified. It could be for instance, that Black kids are relatively more attentive to affective cues than their White counterparts and the greater the rapport established, the greater is the effort that the Black child is willing to expend on academic related tasks. On the other hand, perhaps, the greater the rapport established the more attentive is the Black child to the conceptual-informational cues at hand. Surely, empirical research is needed, given that the present thesis is correct. Theses highly compatible with the present one, have been espoused elsewhere (White, 1970; Johnson, 1969; Matthews, 1973).

Although not quantitatively overwhelming, some empirical evidence does exist that lends credence to the present argument. Zigler and his colleagues (Zigler & Butterfield, 1968; Zigler, Abelson & Seitz, 1973) have reported data interpretable within the present framework. They have found that Black children consistently exhibited significantly superior performance on standardized tests when rapport with the tester is established as opposed to when it is not. Such a differentiation was not observed in a White middle class sample. Elsewhere, Hedegard and Brown (1969) found that Black students, moreso than Whites, characterized their ideal teacher in terms of interpersonal prowess as opposed to strictly on the basis of technical proficiency. For instance, it was relatively more critical for the teacher to be adept at instilling "pride and a sense of accomplishment" in their students. Elsewhere, Piestrup (1973) has catalogued some of the factors which create rapport in the teacher-Black student interaction. She found that the presence of these factors aided reading proficiency in 1st grade Black youths. It should be noted that rapport should perhaps not be reduced simply to a display of positive support on the part of the teacher (Piestrup, 1973; Banks, 1975). Banks (1975) has for example demonstrated that Black adolescents are much more effort oriented vis a vis achievement when the teacher is depicted as Black and supportive as opposed to non-supportive. Whereas the opposite obtains in relation to supportiveness when the teacher is depicted as White. A similar finding has been reported by Steumpfig and Maehr (1970).

Although, I am not clear on the actual home environmental forces which may foster an affective emphasis, it has been argued fairly persuasively that such an emphasis may represent the retention of certain African styles of expressions (Herskovitz, 1958; Mbiti, 1970; Matthews, 1973).

Cognitive Considerations

It seems fairly clear that certain conceptual outcomes expected in school may be more readily reinforced in White middle class homes e.g. counting to 10, knowing one's color etc. However, I argue this is not a reflection on the cognitive competence of Black children. Having greater access to certain informational sources deemed critical for classroom functioning does not have any implications fundamentally, for the underlying quality of ones cognitive processes. It has been argued that the level of structural-conceptual sophistication necessary to survive in the Black community is at least as sophisticated as that demanded in school (Perkins, 1975; White, 1970; Labov, 1972; Williams, 1971). Consequently I believe our research and theoretical energies should not be directed toward issues like the teaching of "appropriate" problem-solving strategies per se in "disadvantaged-deprived" children (e.g., Bereiter and Engleman, 1966; Hodges, McCandless and Spicker, 1967; Whiteman and Deutsch, 1968). But instead we should be examining the question of the detection of such problem solving strategies in their "natural habitats" and then the decontextualization, or perhaps more appropriately, the multicontextualization of such cognitive strategies and operations possessed by Black youth. For example, I believe in terms of geometrical and trigonometrical principles the level of conceptual understanding that is embodied in effectively shooting pool should and can be capitalized upon in academic settings.

Some of the most promising work addressing these kinds of issues is being conducted at the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition, Rockefeller University (Cole and Hall, 1975; Scribner and Cole, 1975; Franklin and Fulani, 1974; Hall and Freedle, 1975). The general perspective and thrust of this work is on the specification of the cultural-contextual bases of cognitive functioning.

A particularly illuminating study was conducted by Franklin and Fulani (1974). They wanted to test Jensen's (Jensen, 1969; Jensen and Frederickson, 1973) assertion that on a free word recall task, the ability to utilize the strategy of clustering words into implicit conceptual categories is generally not found among Black populations. It is also worth mentioning that Jensen and others believe that this clustering ability is a more cognitively sophisticated strategy in this regard as opposed to rote memorization. Franklin and Fulani essentially employed the standard free recall paradigm with one very significant departure. They did not rely exclusively on words that were derived from norms "standardized" on a White middle-class population (e.g. Postman and Keppel, 1970; Shapiro and Palermo, 1970). Instead, they also employed words that were obtained directly from a sample of Black youths. These words and their corresponding categories were of course more phenomenologically pertinent to these youths cultural and experiential frame of reference. In all, six conceptual categories were employed, each containing five words or instances. Three of the categories and their corresponding words were more directly pertinent to the experiences of Black youths e.g. soul-food with instances such as "greens" "chittlins" and "ribs." The remaining categories were taken from ones used in the typical work e.g. clothing with instances such as "shirt", "hat", and "shoes". Black and White adolescents were asked to recall the list of 30 words which were presented in no particular order. There was also no mention of the corresponding conceptual categories. The clustering performance of Black youths in this study was significantly superior to that of the White youths. Further analyses revealed that the depression of categorized behavior by the White sample was directly a function of the Black related items. They essentially responded to these words in a rote fashion. The implications of these findings to the present thesis should be obvious. As Franklin and Fulani state "...the manifestation of basic abilities is intricately bound to the contexts (social or cultural) in which learning and development most often occurs. Therefore, measurement instruments of higher mental processes must be sensitive to and reflective of the ecology of learning for different populations."

Vervistic Considerations

If we examine the home and immediate ecological environments of Black children, we are struck by the abundance of the affordance of physical stimulus intensity and variation. We find a relatively high ambient noise level with T.V.'s on a significant amount of time and stereos blaring. We further are apt to see large numbers of people per living space and generally large dosages of varied physical activities. Factors like these have traditionally led social scientists to ascribe "conceptual deafness", lack of meaningful frames of reference, and other forms of putative mental disability, to Black children (Marans and Lourie, 1967; Goldman and Sanders, 1969; Wach, Uzgiris and Hunt, 1971). In contrast, I would argue that as a result of commerce with such environmental affordances, there has developed a unique adaptive style such that Black children possess greater "psychological/behavior verve" than their cohorts in a typical White middle class setting. Exposure to more constant high and variable stimulation, I argue, has lead to a higher chronic activation level. Such an occurrence has had two consequences: An increased behavioral vibrancy and an increased psychological affinity for stimulus change and intensity. This argument receives some "technical" coroboration from the work of Glanzer, 1958; McReynolds, 1971; and Maddi and Propst, 1971. It should be noted that the level of psychological/behavioral verve would not be a function of demographic variables exclusively. Surely, cultural and ancestral factors are also critically interwoven to the extent that the above environmental affordances and activities are sanctioned, rewarded, and encouraged.

It has been pointed out rather persuasively that schools are relatively unstimulating and monotonous places (Silberman, 1970; Holt, 1964). Factors like, investigatory exploration, behavioral change, and attention or interest enhancing variables such as novelty, and variability, have not been meaningfully incorporated in the classroom. This systematic disregard for intrinsic motivational factors works against all schoolchildren. However, it should be increasingly motivationally detrimental to children, the greater is their psychological/behavioral verve. Somewhat more specifically, perhaps one critical reason why successful White students are successful is that they have a greater tolerance for monotony in academic/task presentation formats. Perhaps too, their academic/task performance would be debilitated if faced with increasing levels of format variation and stimulation or if greater demands were placed on their movement repertoire. On the other hand, perhaps Black students are not as successful in school because they are relatively intolerant of monotony. However, if they do possess greater verve than their typical "mainstream" counterparts, perhaps their academic/task performance will be facilitated by greater levels of variation and stimulation or if more demands were placed on their movement repertoire. A somewhat more detailed analysis of all of the above considerations is presented in Boykin (in press).

Behavioral Verve

As one has surely surmised, there is a paucity of direct empirical evidence to substantiate the present claims. However, the work of Marcia Guttentag (Guttentag, 1972; Guttentag and Ross, 1972) is relevant here. She has found that preschool Black children possess a greater movement repertoire than both lower and middle class White preschoolers. She has also demonstrated the superiority of utilizing movements, in the learning of simple verbal concepts for Black children, over formats of a more traditional nature. These findings relate to the behavior vibrancy manifestation of the verve concept. Additionally however, there is some indirect evidence that is relevant to the present argument (Thom, 1971; Massari, Hayweiser and Meyer, 1969). For example, Massari et al (1969) have found that the ability to inhibit movement is positively related to IQ scores.

This relation was independent of comprehending the instruction to inhibit movements per se.

Other researchers have identified the salience of a movement-orientation among Black children but have seen it as indicative of retardation in mental development (Werner, 1957; Miller and Swanson, 1960; and Bilski-Cohen, 1974). For example Bilski-Cohen (1974) has argued that so called "culturally disadvantaged" children are motorically-oriented because they have not been able to advance beyond Piaget's sensory-motor stage of intellectual development. Unfortunately, arguments like this have confused movement as a cognitive activity and movement as a vervistic activity. The present thesis is pertinent to the latter connotation.

To date there have been no studies conducted which have specifically examined the relative effects of the incorporation of movement into academic performance for Black vs. White grade school children. Toward this end, I am about to conduct a research project which will examine the proficiency of Black vs lower and middle class White children in the learning of grade-relevant spelling words. The words are to be rehearsed through a traditional method and through two forms of movement rehearsals: one where the children will walk through the words which will be printed on a floor mat and one in which the children walk through the words in keeping to the beat of non-vocal rhythmic music. It is hypothesized that the greater is the demand on the movement repertoire, the better the Black kids will perform. For the middle class White kids, if performance is facilitated, it will not be as dramatic as for the Black sample. Perhaps performance may even decline in the movement plus rhythmic music condition. Lower class Whites will fall somewhere between the other two groups, to the extent that they share key demographic background factors with the Black kids, but do not share the cultural and ancestral variables.

Psychological Verve

As with Behavioral verve, very little research has examined whether increasing amounts of variation or "stimulation" in task/ academic formats have a particularly facilitative influence for Black children. However, what little I have been able to find, appears consistent with the present argument (Marshall, 1969; Rohwer and Harris, 1975; Piestrup, 1973). For example, Rohwer and Harris (1975) found that prose learning was better for 4th grade Black children when the information was simultaneously presented in different media formats (i.e. oral, written or pictures), as opposed to only through a single media. For middle class White children, combinations of media were of little consequence. Then too, Piestrup (1973) reported that the most effective teachers of reading for 1st grade Black children regularly, utilized lively gesticulations, engaged in rhythmic verbal interplay with the children and accentuated intonation, in their academic presentations.

As none of the above cited works emanated directly from my notions, none of them provides unambiguous tests of the present thesis. I have recently conducted some exploratory/pilot research which I believe sheds more direct light on the present theme. Before discussing this work, it is worthwhile to draw an important distinction: that between the conceptual complexity of a presentation and the amount of variation and stimulation in the presentation format. The present arguments are only relevant to the latter considerations, holding cognitive comprehensibility constant.

In my study, subjects were 16 3rd and 4th grade White children from essentially a White upper middle class neighborhood school in Ithaca, New YOrk, and 13 Black children of comparable grade level but from the local elementary school with the greatest proportion of Black students. The children were asked to solve five instances each of four distinct types of problem-solving tasks that were equated for complexity. The types of tasks were (1) a 10-digit ordered recall task, (2) a story listening task, (3) a visual scanning task and (4) a 10-dot pattern schema reproduction task. The tasks were presented to the children in either one of two formats: (1) a relatively unvaried format in which all five instances of one type of task were first presented, followed by all five of a second, followed by five of the third and then the fourth, (2) a relatively varied format in which the tasks were presented in essentially a random sequential order. Half of the White children and six of the Black children had to solve the problems through the "unvaried" format and the remaining children solved them through the "varied" format. The performance data were converted to Z-scores. A measure of aggregate problem-solving performance was then taken for each child. The results are depicted in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 About Here

There was a significant race x format interaction such that the format manipulation did not differentially affect the performance of the White children, whereas the Black children performed markedly better in the varied format condition. Consistent with this is the finding that the simple main effect for format was significant for the Black children but not for the White. This study is discussed in greater detail elsewhere (Boykin, 1976).

I am presently conducting a replication of this study with a larger sample and certain other extensions and modifications. For one, I have added one more level of format variability to see if further performance differentiations are obtained. This additional level has the same sequential ordering as the relatively varied format in the pilot study but the tasks, are presented at various locations in the room, require differing postural orientations and are presented through differing modes. Further I am taking a measure of level of home vervistic affordance for each child to see how it relates to performance with differing formats. Finally, I am taking a measure of scholastic attainment for each child. For if responsiveness to format variability is an ecologically meaningful construct in a school setting, then it may even discriminate between high and low scholastic attainers, regardless of race.

Surely my efforts outlined here are merely embryonic surface scratchings. Further work is obviously needed to bring crystallization clarification, and delimitation to my scheme.

Concluding Speculations

I am fully cognizant of all the pitfalls and shortcomings involved in making the kinds of sweeping generalizations about Black-White stylistic expressions discussed above. My intention was not so much to construct rigidified categories as it was to develop heuristic ones. Yet, in order to bring some measure of synthesis to my remarks, it is necessary that I offer one more generalization which is particularly audacious in scope. Certain kinds of observations have prompted me to engage in such an endeavor. For I believe that a pattern emerges with respect to what is demanded, treasured or implied in "mainstream" academic settings and perhaps in Western civilization in general. For example, in my opinion there is a prevailing belief that the affective and cognitive domains form a "zero-sum" arrangement. To the extent that a person is cognitive in his orientation, he can't be affective and American society has clearly exhalted the cognitive domain (Maccoby & Modiano, 1966). I am also struck by the tendency for the traditional classroom approach to construe a strong positive correlation between the efficiency and quality of learning and the passivity of the student, or the static, compartmentalized nature of the learning format (Mathis, Colton, & Sechrest, 1970). Again a zero-sum arrangement is implied this time between cognitive and vervistic concerns. I would like to propose that one superordinate stylistic distinction between Anglo-Americans (and perhaps the more typical Western man in general) and Afro-Americans is that the former strive more toward intra-dimensional maximization and the latter more toward inter-dimensional amalgamation.

Anglo-Americans appear to be more concerned with optimization along a cognitive dimension almost at the expense of other potentially important dimensions or others are put at the service of the cognitive. In terms of the present issues, this quest manifests itself in maximizing cognitive growth and within a particular ethnocentric framework, almost to the exclusion of affective and vervistic considerations. Consequently adequate cognitive stimulation may be necessary and sufficient to facilitate academic motivation.

On the other hand, an inter-dimensional amalgamation orientation manifests itself in the person striving to maintain harmonic unity among the various critical psychological dimensions of his lifespace. In doing so, no one dimension would be sacrificed to another. Other authors have spoken to such a stylistic expression among Black people (Nobles, 1972; Wilson, 1972; White, 1970). In light of the present concerns, if the quality of affective stimulation and the quantity of veristic stimulation are not sufficient in the academic setting, then maximal motivation will not obtain for the Black child. I posit that this is an important reason why Black students become turned off by school and seek other arenas in which the cognitive, affective and vervistic can be better amalgamated. In other words, Black children are bored, turned off and unstimulated by school because of its relative sterility. Perhaps we can facilitate the academic/task performance of the Black child if we increase the "soulfulness" of the academic/task setting.

Admittedly my remarks are speculative at best. However, when I view some of the sectors of the Black experience, I can't help but see some merit to my arguments. For example, in the religious arena, it seems that the passionate, soul-riveting, vervistically-tenacious sermons of the minister, the lively call and response inter-change between the preacher and the congregation, the high energy gospel tunes, and the conceptually sophisticated ethical and spiritual message imparted, all form an amalgamated unity. In terms of juvenile gang affiliation, it appears that the rapport and affective bonds among gang members, the frenetic survival pace of defending and extending the gang's territory, the technical proficiency of the offensive and defensive strategies, and the individual's supreme intellectual cunning demanded for survival, can clearly nurture and satisfy an amalgamational frame of reference. It would not be difficult to argue that affective cognitive and vervistic amalgamation, significantly conceptualizes the essence of soul music either. When any of the above cited arenas are compared to the traditional operationalization of the classroom, then how could the classroom be construed as anything but sterile?

At any rate, one personal puzzle that plagued me at the outset of my serious embarkment into the field of experimental psychology was how my young nephew could not learn his relatively short lists of spelling words no matter how hard he "tried." However, he could hear a song on the radio by Jackson Five but twice and know all the words by heart. At least for me, the pieces to this particular puzzle are beginning to fall into place.

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Table 1

Aggregate Problem-solving performance for Black and White children under types of format presentation.

	Unvaried format	Varied format
Black 5's	4.60	5.29
White 5's	5.06	4.98

entries are in average Z-scores +5.

ED148942

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BLACK FATHER-CHILD INTERACTION AND SELF-ESTEEM IN PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

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UD017654

This research was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, Grant #1 R01 MH25838-01.

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Dr. H. McAdoo and Young-shi Ou for suggestions, and the reading of this report.

In reviewing the literature on father-child interaction in Black families there appears to be very little information on the impact of that interaction and the child's self-esteem. Traditionally social psychologists have studied the impact of father-absence on the sex role development (Biller, 1971) or cognitive development (Hess, Shipman, 1958), and achievement motivation. However, there appears to be an assumption in social scientific research that Black families are matriarchal in nature and further, there is something pathological about the effects of that type of structure on the Black child (Moynihan, 1965).

The research focus on Black families has centered on mother-child interactions and its effects on achievement motivation, IQ, and sex role. Much of the research attempted to justify the cultural deficit model erroneously ascribed to Black family junctions. The role of the Black father is portrayed as that of an invisible man, who has no power in the family and who is assumed not to be interested in the socialization of his children. The present study examines the relationship between observed behaviors and attitudes of Black fathers and the association of these paternal measures with the self-esteem of their preschool children. This research is a part of a larger on-going study of Black parent-child interaction and their relationship to the development of social competence of preschool aged boys and girls being carried out by Dr. Harriette McAdoo and myself.

The study utilizes the symbolic interaction perspective as a theoretical framework. The interaction that takes place between the parent and child lays the foundation for the total social, cognitive, and moral development of that child. This perspective allows us to examine the "how" of the socialization process. While few empirical-based studies have been conducted on the childrearing practices in Black families, there is extensive theoretical, as well as experimental, literature on parental behavior and its influence on young children (Dyk and Witkin, 1965; Kagen, 1972; Sears, 1963, 1967; MacCoby, 1957). Most of the above studies reviewed the mothers' reports of fathers' behaviors or attitudes to draw inferences about fathers' influences in childrearing practices. Baldwin (1973), Yarrow, Campbell, and Burton (1963) have noted the inadequacy of the above approaches. Until recently, there were few reports based upon the direct observation of the interaction between parents and children, and even fewer reports on Black families.

Radin (1972) notes that none of the researchers (Baumrind, 1971; Lytton, 1973; Fagot, 1974) who studied fathers and children included lower class. Radin (1972, 1975) focused on the effects of antecedent behaviors of the father on the cognitive development of his child. While other researchers focused upon the role fathers play in the development of sex-role identification, cognitive competence, and/or adaptive social behavior (Biller and Blanchard, 1971; Kagen, 1968; Dyk and Witkin, 1971; Sears, 1953), very few of the above studies have attempted to evaluate parental behavior that leads to social competence in their children.

Few of the studies reviewed have developed instruments to observe Black fathers interacting with their children without other family members present.

We define a socially competent child as one who exhibits a positive feeling of self-worth, who exhibits a drive for and a feeling of achievement, and who has a feeling of some degree of control over his environment (White and Watts, 1973). While the social and emotional factors in the development of competence is the main focus, other data suggest that a socially competent child will also do well in the classroom and thus, be prepared to achieve in school and later occupational endeavors (Radin, 1975). He will also develop a healthy ethnic identity.

It is suggested that the development of a positive self-esteem is the key variable in developing socially competent children. McAdoo, H. (1972) extensively reviewed the literature relating to the Black preschool child's self-esteem and ethnic identity. It was noted that the Black preschool child's self-esteem appears to be more positive than in the past and suggests that the improved social and political circumstances of the Black family may account for the change.

Since changing social conditions have some effect upon parenting styles, it is important that we observe parenting styles in Black families and determine their effects on the Black child's self-esteem. Paternal nurturance and paternal restrictiveness are two parenting styles that have been found to be related to the cognitive development in white preschool children (Radin, 1972). For the purposes of this study we will attempt to determine the relationship of nurturance and restrictiveness on the development of a positive identity in Black children.

It has been noted that several theorists have suggested that paternal warmth (nurturance) facilitates the child's identification with him, particularly in the male child. Identification with the father should lead to the child's incorporation of the father's ideas, attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about the child. The father communicates a positive acceptance of the child as a person. The literature indicates that intellectual achievement is related to early parent independence granting and early expectations of mastery behavior of the child (Radin, 1972).

It follows from the above, although not empirically tested, that parental restrictiveness (authoritarian fathers) would not facilitate positive communication and paternal identification by the child. Restrictiveness in the parent suggests negative reaction to the child's behavior and an attempt to handle the symptom of the problem and not the needs of the child, controlling behavior, and the cutting off of the usual patterns of identification and communication with the child. Restrictiveness in the father could lead the child to develop a negative image of himself and his worth as a human being, as well as negative feelings about those around him. Radin (1975) has found that children of restrictive parents do poorly in kindergarten.

Black parents are stereotyped as being restrictive in their child-rearing attitudes while Black children in the past have scored low on achievement and self-esteem tests. Very few articles were found that attempted to look at the interaction between father and child and the development of social competence in Black preschool children. In this study, we are interested in determining if there is a relationship between parent-child interaction, parental nurturance, restrictiveness and positive self-esteem in their children. Our hypothesis suggests that there is a positive relationship between paternal nurturance and the preschool child's self-esteem.

Method

Sample

Thirty-six working and middle-class Black families consisting of 19 boys and 17 girls, living in the suburban town of Columbia, Maryland, located in the Baltimore-Washington metropolitan area, were studied. The families were selected through nursery schools and door-to-door canvas in Columbia. The selection of Columbia, Maryland, offered us an excellent opportunity to study middle- and working-class Blacks who live in the same neighborhood and attend the same schools. We did not expect them to be different from their peers in Washington and Baltimore, since they are migrant from those areas. However, because they live in a small model community it offered easy access to the subjects.

Procedure

Four Black male interviewers were trained to collect the parent-child interaction in two interviews. The first interview was with the entire family to explain the project, to gain their permission for participation, to ask some socio-economic background data, and to help the child feel relaxed around the interviewer. In the second interview only the father and the child were present during the hour and a half session. The interview consisted of the Cognitive Home Environment Scale (Radin and Sonquist, 1968), several questions to gather information on the father's childrearing attitudes and on the father's perception of ethnic differences in childrearing patterns.

At the end of the interview, the child was given three puzzles to complete, to justify his/her presence. Having the child remain in the room required that at some point the father would have some interaction with his child. He would also need to exact some control over his child's activities. We were interested in observing the interaction process between father and child. A week following the parent interview the child was brought into the office twice and was given the Thomas Self-Concept Values Test (Thomas, 1972). The Thomas Self-Concept Values Test purports to measure the child's self concept through the use of questions based upon the child's own Polaroid photograph. The child was asked to give his view of himself and how he is moved by three "significant others" in his life (mother, teacher, peer). The questions form a core of fourteen bipolar adjectives, items representing the value on which the child reported his perceptions. The Thomas items are presented in an "either-or" format, using the child's own name, i.e., "Is David happy or is David sad?", while referring to the child's own picture. The more desirable choice was scored +1. The +1 items across all categories were added together to get a total score of the child's view of himself.

The Thomas test was modified to make the scale more appropriate. Thomas' original test did not include the father as a significant other. It also had a negative sex-typing for girls on two questions. In addition, the Thomas asked "how the child liked to be with men" and did not ask a comparable question about women. Therefore, these three changes were made. The Thomas scores were restandardized using the three modifications, based on a sample of 100 Black preschool children in the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area (H. McAdoo, 1974). These new standardized scores were felt to be preferable to the original Thomas standardization sample of Grand Rapids, Michigan children in Head Start Centers in the 1960s.

Interaction coding

All verbal interactions between the father and his child were recorded on a tape recorder. The tape was broken down into four fifteen-second intervals. The two consecutive fifteen-minute periods with the most verbal interactions, were coded by the verbal coders. The verbal interactions were scored according to seven factors: 1) reinforcing; 2) responding to implicit needs; 3) relating to explicit needs; 4) initiating motivating behaviors; 5) expressing warmth; 6) influencing and limit-setting categories, and 7) restricting behaviors (Radin, 1972). Three verbal coders were trained to score the verbal interactions from the tape. They achieved an average reliability of .92. The interviewers were trained to record the verbal and at the same time record the nonverbal interactions between the father and child. The categories coded were: 1) tone of voice; 2) type of physical contact between father and child; 3) parent's explicit response to child's behavior; 4) parent implicitly responding; and 5) no interaction.

The nonverbal interactions were recorded by an interviewer on a timed grid on the questionnaire. The nonverbal behaviors were recorded at fifteen second intervals for two minutes on a nonverbal scale developed by Harriette McAdoo, Joseph Teresa, and myself. The scores of father-child nonverbal interactions were obtained by counting the number of fifteen second intervals in which there were nonverbal interactions between father and child. A proportional score was obtained by dividing the frequency of interaction by the maximum number of fifteen-second intervals possible in which the nonverbal interactions could have occurred. The interviewers were trained over a three-week period by repeatedly using role-playing techniques and a video recorder of an actual interview situation with a parent and child. On the video interview, the interviewers achieved a nonverbal reliability rating which ranged from .80 to .92, with the average being .85.

Results

The fathers in this study were nurturant in their interaction with their children. Seventy-seven percent of all verbal interactions recorded fell into the nurturant category. Eight percent of the interactions were restrictive while fifteen percent of the father-child interactions were considered neutral.

There were no significant sex differences found in the three verbal interaction patterns. Nurturance was found to be the major interaction pattern with seventy-one percent of the girls and eighty percent of the boys, see Table 1.

Nonverbal interaction during the fifteen-second intervals was observed between father and child twenty-five percent of the time. There was a significant sex difference,- the father-daughter interaction was significantly greater than the father-son interaction. The nonverbal interaction for the girls was 31 and the nonverbal mean for the boys was 19 t (24), $p < .05$, see Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

The self-concept scores for the total sample was positive with a mean score of 52.31. No significant sex difference in self-concept scores was found.

The fathers were compared across the three verbal interaction categories and ranked according to their verbal interactions as being nurturant, neutral or restrictive. An analysis of variance of the ranked sums indicated that for the total sample, boys and girls, nurturance was the predominant interaction pattern. No significant difference was found between neutral and restrictiveness, see Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

A significantly negative relationship was found between nurturance and neutral $\underline{p} < .001$ (see Table 3). Fathers who were highly nurturant in their verbal behaviors tended to be low in neutral or non-nurturant behavior. Fathers who were low in nurturance tended to be high in neutral behavior. There was a significantly negative relationship between nurturance and restrictiveness in the parent-child interaction pattern ($\underline{p} < .001$). As expected, the fathers who were highly nurturant were low on restrictiveness.

There was a significantly negative relationship between verbal nurturance and nonverbal interaction ($\underline{p} < .01$). Fathers who were high on verbal nurturance tended to be low on nonverbal interaction. There appeared to be a significantly positive relationship between nonverbal interactions and verbal restrictiveness ($\underline{p} < .05$). Fathers who were high on restrictiveness tended to be high on nonverbal interactions, while fathers who were low on restrictiveness tended to be low on nonverbal interactions. No significant relationship was found between self concept, verbal and nonverbal interaction, see Table 3.

Insert Table 3 about here

The fathers were asked to categorize the types of activities shared with the child. Forty-four percent of the fathers reported spending less than one hour daily playing with their children, while 32% played one to two hours. Fifteen percent reported playing more than two hours with them. The playtime was broken down by sex. The fathers of boys reported more time with their children. Forty-five percent of the boys' fathers and 43% of the girls' fathers reported spending less than one hour daily playing with their child. More of the boys' fathers (40%) than girls' fathers (21%) reported spending between one and two hours playing with their child. None of the boys' fathers but 21% of the girls' fathers reported playing with their child infrequently (see Table 4).

Insert Table 4 about here

Questions were asked related to approval actions of their children, types of approval, and reasons for the most recent approval. Fifty-nine percent of the fathers rewarded their children for good behavior, as opposed to rewarding them for showing independent or assertive actions (32%): only a few chose being affectionate (3%), household chores (3%), or did not recall (3%). There were no sex differences as girls (59%) and boys (60%) were rewarded equally for good behavior. Thirty-two percent of the girls and 35% of the boys were rewarded for assertive-independent behavior (see Table 5).

Insert Table 5 about here

The majority of the fathers (61%) noted that they would show praise for acts that they approved by telling the child (verbal reinforcement) when he approves of the child's actions, while 24% of the fathers would hug and/or kiss the child and 6% would smile or use body gestures. Three percent of the fathers did not show approval and 6% would show approval by allowing the action to occur. There were no sex differences for fathers who would tell the child when he was pleased, as 55% of the boys' and 69% of the girls' fathers would do so. More of the boys' fathers (35%) noted that they would hug, kiss, and praise, than the girls' fathers (8%) (see Table 5).

Thirty-five percent of Black fathers reported recently rewarding their child for good behavior, 12% were rewarded for being affectionate, 9% for household chores, 6% for independent-assertive behavior, 3% for personal hygiene, 9% were not hugged or praised recently, while 6% were rewarded for doing nothing. Twenty-one percent of the fathers did not recall reasons for recent approval. Again there were no significant sex differences as the fathers divided about equally among the categories (see Table 5).

In response to a series of questions relating to the fathers perception of strictness, 65% of the fathers reported that they were moderately strict with their children. Twenty-three percent of the fathers noted that they were very strict and 13% of the fathers did not feel that they were strict. There were no sex differences between fathers of boys (67%) and fathers of girls (62%) who felt they were moderately strict with their children. More fathers of boys (28%) than fathers of girls (15%) felt that they were strict (see Table 6).

Insert Table 6 about here

While they saw themselves as moderately strict, once an instruction was given, most expected the child to obey right away. Sixty-seven percent of the fathers felt that their children should obey them immediately, while 27% of the fathers felt that there was no need to obey them immediately, and 5% did not care. The expectation was higher for boys than girls. Seventy-four percent of boys' fathers and 57% of girls' fathers felt that their child should obey immediately. More girls' (36%) than boys' (21%) fathers felt that their child did not need to obey immediately (see Table 6).

To the question as to whether or not they would allow angry kicking or shouting from their children, 69% of those who responded would not allow this, while 25% noted that they would seldom allow it, and 6% would allow their children to do it frequently. More fathers of girls (79%) than boys (61%) would not allow angry kicking or shouting, while more boys' fathers (39%) than girls' fathers (7%) would allow a few outbursts of angry kicking and shouting (see Table 6).

The fathers were asked if they felt that Black parents were stricter than parents of other ethnic groups. Sixty-five percent of all fathers interviewed felt that Black parents were more strict than white parents. Fifteen percent felt that they were about the same and 3% felt that they were less strict and 18% did not know. More boys' fathers (70%) than girls' fathers (57%) felt that Black parents were more strict and there was no sex differences found. (See Table 6).

In response to the question concerning whether or not they were raising their children exactly as they had been raised, 79% of the Black fathers felt that they were not. Fifteen percent felt they were raising their children exactly the way they were raised, and 6% answered that they were partially raising their children the way they were raised. When broken down by sex, all of the girls' (100%) and most of the boys' (65%) fathers felt that they were raising their children exactly the way they were raised (see Table 6).

The fathers were given a hypothetical situation in which they had a son and a daughter and could only educate one child. They were asked which would they educate, the boy or the girl. A marked sex difference was found, 61% of all the fathers said the boy should be given preference for further education, as opposed to 36% who felt that they should be equally educated. Only one father said the girl should be given preference. Seventy-five percent of the boys' fathers and 36% of the girls' fathers felt that boys should be educated. It is significant that none of the boys' and only one of the girls' fathers chose the girl to be educated, while 55% of the girls' fathers and 25% of the boys' fathers chose them to be educated equally (see Table 7).

Insert Table 7 about here

When asked whether their child's needs come before their own, 78% of the fathers indicated that their needs came second to their child's. Sixteen percent noted that this was sometimes true, while 6% said no. Eighty-five percent of the boys' fathers and 67% of the girls' fathers responded yes, that their needs came second to their children's. There were no sex differences. Only 2% of the girls' fathers said their needs came first (see Table 7).

When asked who made the main decisions in the family, more than three-fourths of the fathers (78%) felt that both parents made the major family decisions together, while 16% felt that the mother alone made the decision, and 6% felt that the father alone made the decisions. There were no sex differences as the fathers of boys (78%) and girls (79%) reported equally that they both made the major decisions. There were no significant sex differences on decision making (see Table 7).

Summary

The results in this study show that a great deal of interaction occurs in the father-child relationship. These Black fathers were found to be very nurturant towards their children. This finding was very similar to Radin's (1972) study with white middle-class fathers. Unlike the stereotyped view of Black father-child interaction, these fathers were highly nurturant in their verbal interactions with their children. They exhibited very little restrictive or neutral interaction, and a low amount of nonverbal interaction with their children. No relationship between nurturance, restriction, or neutral verbal interaction and self-esteem was found in this study.

Fathers who physically interacted with their child, tended to be restrictive in their interaction patterns. More fathers of girls interacted on a nonverbal level than fathers of boys. No significant relationship was found between father-child nonverbal interactions and self-esteem in their children.

The Black preschool children, as a group, in this sample felt good about themselves. They felt that both their father and mother valued them highly and that their teachers and peers saw them in a positive light. This finding confirmed earlier findings in Michigan, Mississippi and Washington, D.C. (H. McAdoo, 1976).

The fathers in this study do not fit the popular stereotypic view of the Black fathers who are cold, distant, restrictive, who are either nonexistent or have very little to do with their children. We observed a great deal of nurturant interaction going on between father and child. We found them to be vitally concerned about their child's growth and welfare. They appear to be in control of their life's situation and share equally with their wife in decisions about their preschool child's needs.

Finally, when we peek through the veil of invisibility with which social scientists and others have surrounded the functioning Black families, we find, not too surprisingly, quite average human beings. The Black fathers in this study exhibited a wide range of observed behavior, attitudes and beliefs in their interaction with their children. Their children tend to have a positive feeling about themselves and their fathers as a result of this interaction.

Table 1

Mean, Standard Deviation of Total Frequency and Proportion Type of Interactions to Total Frequencies

Variables	Total		Girls		Boys			
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	df	t
Verbal								
Nurturance	.77	.19	.74	.21	.80	.18	33	.91
Neutral	.15	.15	.18	.17	.12	.12	33	1.15
Restrictive	.08	.10	.08	.08	.08	.12	33	.04
Nonverbal	.25	.15	.31	.18	.19	.10	24[a]	2.65*
Thomas Self Concept	52.31	12.30	49.06	15.43	55.21	7.98	23[a]	1.48
	(N=35)		(N=16)		(N=19)			

[a] Based on separate variance estimate for each group.

*$p < .05$.

Table 2

Means, Rank Sums, Differences between Rank Sums, and Results of Multiple Comparisons of Rank Data on Verbal Interactions by Total and Sex

Variables	Total	Girls	Boys
	Rank Sums		
Nurturance	39.5	19.0	20.5
Neutral	80.0	37.0	43.0
Restrictive	90.5	40.0	50.5
N	35	16	19
S'[a]	34.69**	17.79**	49.16**
	Differences between Rank Sums		
Nurturance, Neutral	40.5**	18.0*	22.5**
Nurturant, Restrictive	51.0**	21.0**	30.0***
Neutral, Restrictive	10.5	3.0	7.5

[a] Analysis of variance for ranked data (see Myles Hollander and Doublass Wolfe Nonparametric Statistical Methods. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973).

*$p < .005$
**$p < .001$
***$p < .0001$

Table 3

Kendall's Tau Inter-Correlation Coefficients of Major Variables

Nurturance, Neutral, Restrictive, Nonverbal Interactions and Self Concept

Variables	Verbal Interactions Nurturance	 Neutral	 Restrictive	Nonverbal Interaction	Self Concept
Verbal Interactions					
Nurturance					
Neutral	-.7119***				
Restrictive	-.5079***	.1874			
Nonverbal Interaction	-.3150**	.2348	.2606*		
Thomas Self Concept	-.0979	.0893	.0202	-.0194	

Note: N=35 for each correlation

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$
***$p < .001$

Table 4

Frequency Distribution of Amount of Time and Games Fathers Play with the Child

	Boys		Girls		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Amount of Time						
Great deal (2 hrs and above)	3	(16)	2	(12)	5	(14)
Considerable (1-2 hrs)	8	(42)	4	(24)	12	(33)
Some (less than 1 hr)	8	(42)	8	(47)	16	(44)
Little (less than daily)	0	-	3	(18)	3	(8)
N=	19		17		36	
Games Fathers Play						
Cognitive Games	0	-	4	(24)	4	(11)
Physical Games	18	(95)	13	(77)	31	(86)
Socializing	1	(5)	0	-	1	(3)
N=	19		17		36	

Table 5

Frequency Distribution of Methods used by Fathers to Show Approval to Child

	Boys		Girls		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Approvable Actions of Child						
Good Behavior	13	(68)	8	(47)	21	(58)
Independent-assertive	5	(26)	7	(41)	12	(33)
Household Chores	0	-	1	(6)	1	(3)
Affectionate	0	-	1	(6)	1	(3)
Don't Recall	1	(5)	0	-	1	(3)
N=	19		17		36	
How Father Shows Approval						
Tell the child	11	(58)	9	(56)	20	(57)
Allowing the action to occur	0	-	2	(13)	2	(6)
Hug, kiss or praise	5	(26)	3	(19)	8	(23)
Facial & body approvals (clapping or smiling)	1	(5)	1	(6)	2	(6)
Tangible reward	1	(5)	0	-	1	(3)
Does not show approval	1	(5)	1	(6)	2	(3)
N=	19		16		35	
Reasons for Recent Approval						
Good Behavior	7	(37)	7	(41)	14	(39)
Independent-assertive	2	(11)	0	-	2	(6)
Household Chores	2	(11)	1	(6)	3	(8)
Personal Hygiene	0	-	1	(6)	1	(3)
Affectionate	1	(5)	3	(18)	4	(11)
Don't Recall	5	(26)	2	(12)	7	(19)
Nothing	1	(5)	1	(6)	2	(6)
Did not hug or praise	1	(5)	2	(12)	3	(8)
N=	19		17		36	

Table 6

Frequency Distribution by Sex of the Total Sample
on Fathers' Childrearing Attitudes and Beliefs

	Boys		Girls		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
How Strict Are You With Your Child						
Very strict	5	(28)	2	(13)	7	(21)
Moderately	13	(72)	9	(60)	22	(67)
Not at all	0	-	4	(27)	4	(12)
N=	18		15		33	
Should Child Obey Right Away						
Obey immediately	14	(78)	9	(53)	23	(66)
Does not need to obey immediately	3	(17)	7	(41)	10	(29)
Don't care	0	-	1	(6)	1	(3)
Depends	1	(6)	0	-	1	(3)
N=	18		17		35	
Amount Angry Kicking and Shouting Allowed						
Frequently	0	-	2	(12)	2	(6)
Seldom	6	(35)	3	(18)	9	(27)
None allowed	11	(65)	12	(71)	23	(68)
N=	17		17		34	
Black Parents Strict as White Parents						
More	14	(74)	9	(53)	23	(64)
Less	1	(5)	0	-	1	(3)
About the same	3	(16)	3	(18)	6	(17)
Don't know	1	(5)	5	(29)	6	(17)
N=	19		17		36	
Is Your Child Raised Exactly as You Were						
Yes	5	(26)	0	-	5	(14)
No	12	(63)	16	(100)	28	(80)
Partially	2	(11)	0	-	2	(6)
N=	19		16		35	

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ED148943

The Pittsburgh Project - Part I:

Toward Community Growth and Survival

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Presented at the Third Conference on Empirical Research In Black Psychology

Cornell University   October, 1976

UD017655

The Pittsburgh Project, Part I:
Toward Community Growth and Survival

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Over the past seven years, we have engaged the task of identifying variables that have much to do with the growth and survival of the black community. We have moved from rhetorical concerns about white racialism, the black experience, and the black family toward serious theorizing and empirical research on these matters. Parts I and II summarize our progress in the first two areas, and Part III, the subject of a subsequent report, will summarize our research on the black family.

DIMENSIONALIZATION OF RACIALISM

Racialism is a term that is used differently, explained differently, and deployed differently to account for a heterogeneous range of social phenomena. Not uncommonly, assumptions are made that racialism is a unitary rather than a differentiated process, that its determinants are simplistically rather than complexly organized, and that its expression has uni-form rather than multi-form parameters. The present discussion offers an alternative to these assumptions by offering a conceptual taxonomy that generates 144 types of racialism. Assuming that not all varieties of racialism are equally vulnerable to change and that a single change strategy is not equally effective with all varieties of racialism, it is expected that the present taxonomy and its empirical translation will have implications for differentially effective approaches to remediating racialistic orientations.

Conceptual Dimensions of Racialism

Two Racialistic Contents. An analysis of the meaning content of racialism begins with a prior analysis of the broader concept of prejudice. Allport (1958) defines prejudice as "...an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (p.10). Allport calls attention to the social objects of prejudice, an individual or a group, to the mode of its expression, covert or overt, to the process which partially organizes it, faulty generalization, and to the affective tone which accompanies it, antipathy. To the last, the writer would include unusual fear or anxiety as significant affects which augment or act independently of antipathy. The writer would offer one further suggestion: The individual does not have to experience antipathy for his behavior or attitudes to have antipathetic consequences. In essence, the intent of the behavior or attitude is less important than its consequence.

When prejudice, as discussed above, is developed along racial or color lines, it seems useful to refer to it as racialism, a term which distinguishes it from other forms of social prejudice. Racialistic contents may be racist or nonracist. Racist contents reflect stereotypically organized beliefs that race is a primary determinant of human characteristics and that one race is inherently inferior or superior to another with respect to these characteristics. Nonracist contents are the residual category of racialistic orientations not covered by the racist definition. This two-fold classification suggests that while all instances of racism are simultaneously examples of racialism, not all racialism is racistically organized. For example, a white individual may experience antipathetic feelings toward a black because he feels the latter is undermining his job security, not because he feels primarily that the black is inferior to him. This distinction between racist and nonracist racialistic contents may be important, since nonracist contents may be more amenable to change than racist contents.

Twelve Racialistic Incident Categories. Racialistic Incidents classified by either of the Racialistic Content categories may vary importantly with respect to: 1. The Setting of Occurence; 2. The Mode of Expression; and 3. Manifestation. Each of these three characteristics has important defining attributes which should be considered conjunctively with Racialistic Content categories.

1. Setting refers to whether an *individual* or an *institution* is the carrier of the racialistic orientation. While the meaning of 'individual' is straightforward, the complementary term 'institution' requires some discussion. Institution is considered from a sociological perspective, refering not only to associations developed by a society but also to its normative way of viewing, doing, or thinking about things. A society that associates, for example, the color black with meanings that are sinister and unhappy predisposes its members toward a type of institutional racialism. Where such associated meanings are assimilated by blacks, the writer refers to this process as nadanolitization, a problem which has been addressed by Milliones (1970).

2. Mode of Expression has reference to whether the incident is *overtly* or *covertly* mediated. In a previous paper (Taylor, 1971a), the author referred to incidents overtly mediated as being obvious, undisguised, ingenuous, and open to public view. Moreover, it was suggested that the individual was well aware of his racialistic orientation. Covertly mediated incidents, by contrast,

were described as disguised, disingenuous, and not readily open to public view. In addition, it was suggested that the individual or institution may not be aware of its racialistic orientation.

3. Manisfestation of racialism may be attitudinal or behavioral or some combination of both. Attitude is considered to refer to an affective and/or cognitive predisposition. Behavior refers to actual and identifiable action on the part of individuals and to formal and informal rules, policies, and conformance guidelines in the case of institutions. While the defining attributes of behavior for individuals and institutions might appear conceptually disjunctive, it is argued that the action impact of an institution's formal and informal rules and policies does affect an individual just as the specific and identifiable actions of one individual affects the life of another.

If one considers the logical combinations given by the two types of settings, the two types of Modes, and the two types of Manisfestations, eight varieties of Racialistic Incident Categories are defined: 1. Covert x Individual x Attitudinal; 2. Covert x Institutional x Attitudinal; 3. Overt x Individual x Attitudinal; 4. Overt x Institutional x Attitudinal; 5. Covert x Individual x Behavioral; 6. Covert x Institutional x Behavioral; 7. Overt x Individual x Behavioral; and 8. Overt x Institutional x Behavioral. If one combines the Attitudinal and Behavioral attributes of the Modes of Expression dimension, four additional types of Incident Categories are given: 9. Attitudinal-Behavioral x Institutional x Covert; 10. Attitudinal-Behavioral x Institutional x Overt; 11. Attitudinal-Behavioral x Individual x Covert; and 12. Attitudinal-Behavioral x Individual x Overt. Additional combinations are possible, but the writer is of the opinion that their merit, as well as the merit of those presented, can only be determined by subsequent research.

In another paper (Taylor, 1971a), the author has presented examples of each of the first eight Racialistic Incident categories. Perhaps a summarization of some illustrations presented in that paper will serve to anchor the use of these Incident categories. Consider a Type 1 category (Covert x Individual x Attitudinal) Incident: A first grade teacher introduced the subject of color symbolism by equating the color black with unhappy and sad moods and with evil intentions. This example was considered covert because the teacher did not realize the implications of her lesson, attitudinal because it reflected a racialistic predisposition (black is unhappy, sad, and evil), and individual because only the teacher was involved. A Type 2 (Covert x Institutional x Attitudinal) example would be the widespread use of phrases like 'black ball,' 'washing sins white as snow,' 'black sheep', etc. This example is considered Institutional because it reflects the society's customary way of viewing things, Covert because there is not often an awareness of the racialistic meanings of these phrases, and Attitudinal because it predisposes the racialistic association of black with attributes generally considered undesirable. Examples in which differing Modes, Manisfestations, and Settings are reflected can be generated for each of the twelve Incident categories.

Six Sociogenic Variables. Given the allocation of racialistic orientations by Incident and Content Categories, a third dimension to consider is defined by attention to those factors which have shaped the racialistic orientation. Such factors are referred to here as Sociogenic Variables. These six variables, discussed previously (Taylor, 1971a), will be enumerated with major defining attributes.

1. Social Effect. Following Kelman (1958), it is believed that some attitudes are acquired through social compliance: "...an individual accepts

influence because he hopes to achieve a favorable reaction from another person or group. He adopts the induced behavior--not because he believes its content--but because he expects to gain specific rewards or approval and avoid specific punishments or disapproval by conforming "(p. 53). Thus, a person may come to adopt a racialistic position not because he believed deeply in it, but because its momentarily endorsement brings social approval or averts social reproval.

2. Internalization. In contrast to racialistic positions which are momentarily adapted for social effect, there are others which are adapted because they are intrinsically rewarding (cf. Kelman, 1958). Racialistic orientations of this type are congruent with the individual's value system. An individual might feel blacks are bad or dirty not because this brings extrinsic social reward, but because such thoughts are intrinsically rewarding and congruent with his value system. To this writer, racialistic behaviors and attitudes of this type are learned and well ingrained.

3. Identification. This process refers to the individual's accepting influence because "... he wants to establish or maintain a satisfying self-defining relationship to another person or group....The individual actually believes in the responses which he adopts through identification, but their specific content is more or less irrelevant. He adopts the induced behavior because it is associated with the desired relationship" (p. 53). Related to this position is that of Smith, Bruner, and White (1956), who suggest that opinions can play the role of "...facilitating, describing, or simply maintaining an individual's relations with other individuals" (p. 41). In contrast to racialistic attitudes or behaviors organized for social effect, identificatory orientations are organized to fulfill needs for more sustained and socially meaningful relationships.

4. Utilitarianism or Instrumentalism. Katz (1960) has suggested that attitudes toward social objects are shaped by the manner in which they are associated with the fulfillment or frustration of needs. If certain social objects, for example, blacks, are seen as undermining one's job security or endangering the value of one's property, they are affectively devaluated. The important defining characteristic of utilitarian processes is given by the hypothesis that the attitudinal valence associated with social objects depends upon whether the latter are instrumental in facilitating or frustrating the fulfillment of social, personal or socioeconomic needs.

5. Frustration-Aggression-Displacement. Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mower, and Sears (1939) formulated the frustration-aggression hypothesis which postulates a predictable relationship between frustrating circumstances and aggressive response. The aggression, however, is displaced from the source which arouses it to another having little to do with it. Within this context, the social objects of racialism are not the true objects of the aggression. They are scapegoats only.

6. Ego Defense. This view assumes that racialistic expressions issue from personal insecurities and are basically efforts to solve internal conflicts (Katz, 1960). Displacement takes place as in frustration-aggression reactions, but here the wellspring of the displacement is some internal source and in frustration-aggression it is some external circumstance. Moreover, one might anticipate that the range of social objects affected by ego defense processes is wider than in frustration-aggression-displacement reactions. In another paper (Taylor, 1971b) the psychotherapy of an adolescent white male is presented and his racialistic behavior and attitude are traced to his genetic past. That paper summarizes also how the patient acted out racialistic orientations which importantly sprang from internal conflicts (cf. Taylor, 1973).

It is recognized that a given Incident of racialism may be multiply determined and that more than one of the Sociogenic Variables may be operative simultaneously. It is suggested, however, that having a knowledge of the various Sociogenic variables may lead one to consider differential intervention strategies. For example, a strategy effective in remediating racialistic orientations mediated by the social effect variable may not be equally effective with those mediated by the ego defense variable.

A Conceptual Taxonomy of Racialism

Definition. Classification of racialistic orientations within this taxonomy requires attention to the three previously discussed dimensions which centrally define it. First, one must decide which of two broad Racialistic Contents the orientation or event represents. Second, one must determine how to appropriate a given racialistic event or orientation into one of twelve Racialistic Incident categories. Third, one must decide which of six Sociogenic Variables importantly shapes the racialistic orientation. If one considers the Cartesian product of these possibilities (twelve Racialistic Incidents x two Racialistic Contents x six Sociogenic Variables), a conceptual matrix of 144 varieties of racialism is logically given. These 144 types are listed in the Appendix of this article. A central assumption to the conceptualizing work thus far is that we must take a more fine-grained approach to the study of racialism, examining each instance in terms of its conjunctive location across the three dimensions discussed.

Implications. It is suggested that allocation of racialistic orientations on each of the three dimensions alone and all three dimensions conjunctively offers promise of providing important information regarding differential vulnerability to change, direction and expected extent of change, and strategy for change. When one considers each of the dimensions alone, the following kinds of questions can be raised: Is a person who adopts a racialistic instance because of its association with social rewards or approval (the social effect Sociogenic Variable) easier to change than a person who adopts a similar instance to solve some internal conflict (the ego defense Sociogenic Variable)? Might there be differences in vulnerability to change among those holding racist and nonracist racialistic attitudes (Racialistic Contents)? Might the individual adopting a racialistic position shaped by internalization processes be expected to change as much and in the same direction as another person adopting a similar position shaped by utilitarian-instrumental processes? Is a given change strategy, such as encounter sessions, equally effective with the individual manifesting racist attitudes as with non-racist attitudes? and so on.

When one considers all three dimensions conjunctively, the following kinds of questions may be raised: Are there fundamental differences in terms of vulnerability to change between an instance of racialism considered Racist x (Overt x Individual x Behavioral) x Ego Defense and another considered Non-racist x (Covert x Individual x Attitudinal) x Social Effect? Given the same conjunctive type, one can raise the questions: Would there be anticipated differences in terms of expected change and direction of change a function of intervention? Would the same change strategy have equal effect with respect to both racialistic types? These and the many other questions generated by the proposed conceptual taxonomy can only be answered by empirical research.

Empirical Dimensions of Racialism

In this section is summarized our effort to map the conceptual achievements of the previous section into empirical strategies.

Two Racialistic Contents. Taylor, Dobbins, and Wilson (1972) developed a trial set of 60 items, 30 mapping the Racist and 30 the Nonracist Racialistic domains. These items, each rated on a seven-point scale, were administered to 150 white undergraduate college students. Item selection strategies were used to ensure that (a) Each item was significantly correlated with the domain for which it was written; (b) Each item was more correlated with the domain for which it was written than with the domain for which it was not written; (c) Each item was more highly correlated with its domain subscore than it was with a measure of social desirability; and (d) Each item significantly discriminated the upper and lower quartiles of the domain for which it was written. Application of these strategies resulted in the loss of 5 items for the Racist domain and 9 items for the Nonracist domain, leaving a final pool of 25 items for the former and 21 items for the latter. We now summarize five studies which bear upon the validity of these scales.

Dobbins (1974) reported a positive association between Ego Defensiveness and Racialism, both racist and nonracist varieties. More specifically Ss who agreed with such statements as "Since police have a very difficult job, I feel they should do anything necessary to maintain law and order" or "I believe that something should be done about white liberals who are political agitators," both items being taken from an Ego Defensiveness Scale developed by Taylor, Dobbins, and Wilson (1972), were more likely to be racialistically inclined. In a recent study conducted by Allen and Taylor (in preparation), it was found that negative attitudes toward school desegregation were directly related to level of S's racialism, both racist and nonracist varieties. Said differently, the higher S's level of racialism, the more negative S's attitude toward school desegregation.

While the two studies just reviewed were conducted on white Ss, a study by Barrett (1974) explored the effects of racialism and locus of control on black and white subjects' tendancy to attribute more or less responsibility to a black or white stimulus person. He drew a sample of 158 high school students, 70 black and 88 white, to whom he administered the Racialism Contents Scale, The Rotter Locus of Control measure, and an attribution task. Among the many interesting findings of this study, Barrett found that black and white Ss who endorsed fewer racialistic stereotypes about blacks were similar in their perception of the severity of outcome. Not insignificant also was the finding that blacks are significantly less racialistic (mean = 130) than are whites (mean = 149). While the 19-point spread between blacks and whites achieved statistical significance, this difference brings no psychological comfort to this writer. The mean of 130 for blacks would suggest an appreciable amount of internalization of white stereotypes by blacks. There have been, however, two studies suggesting approaches to reducing this problem of nadanolitization.

Based upon a four-stage developmental view of Black Consciousness, Milliones (1973) found an inverse relationship between stage of Black Consciousness attainment and internalized racialistic dispositions among 150 black college students. Said differently, he found a progressive extrusion of internalized stereotypes as higher levels of Black Consciousness were attained. Similarly, Terrell (1974), who developed a measure estimating the degree of one's identification with a Black Nationalist's philosophy, found an inverse relationship between strength of identification and internalized stereotypes.

Eight (of Twelve) Racialistic Incidents. Allen (1974) developed a trial set of 222 items mapping each of the first eight Incident Categories previously described. For each Category, 24 to 32 items were written to tap S's sensitivity to or awareness of racialistic vignettes identified as belonging to that category. All items forming the initial version of the Racialistic Incidents Inventory had been examined by one professor and two graduate students in clinical psychology to ensure each item's unique classifiability as a racialistic incident, overt or covert, individual or institutional, and attitudinal or behavioral, as well as its location relative to one of six facets: Physical; Psychological; Economic; Political; Educational; and Social. To attentuate the effects of acquiescence, one-half of the items for each Category were keyed negative and the remaining half positive. Each item was rated on a 7-point scale, and the entire RII was administered to 131 white college students. After eliminating items which were relatively nondiscriminating, relatively nonhomogeneous with its Category Subtotal, and relatively oversaturated with social desirability, 156 items remained, 14 to 26 for each Category. We now examine some findings associated with the RII.

Allen (1974), Officer (1974), and Craig (1974), each sampling from rather different white populations, have found in general that Ss are least aware of Type 3 Category Incidents (Overt x Individual x Attitudinal), this finding being more clearly interpretable in Allen's study than in the remaining two. Closely behind Type 3 are Type 7 Incidents (Overt x Institutional x Behavioral). While there are variations in the prorated means across the Allen, Officer, and Craig studies, the results reported for Types 3 and 7 are consistent across the samples used.

In addition to examining peaks and valleys across RII Types, we also have examined the relationship between the Racialistic Contents Inventory and the RII. Since the writer has assumed that dimensions of the taxonomy are relatively independent, he would hope that Racialistic Contents and Racialistic Incidents are not strongly correlated; otherwise, he would need to speak of the one dimension rather than the two. These same comments would also obtain if we were to include Sociogenic Variables as the third dimension. This assumption has been examined in three studies, two of which are reported here and the third is reviewed in the following section. Allen (1974) administered both the RII and the Racialistic Contents Inventory. It will be recalled that the contents Inventory contains two components, Racist and Nonracist. The 131 white college Ss were divided at the median into two groups on each of these components, following which Hotelling's T^2 procedure was utilized to examine if the two groups on each component of the Contents measure would significantly differentiate the corresponding centroids estimated from the eight subscores on the RII. No statistical significance was obtained by this procedure for either the Racist or Nonracist component. Examining the correlation matrix involving all subscales of the RII and Contents Inventory, it was clear that there was more covariation within the RII (.26 - .84) than between the RII and Contents (-.06 to .30). Univariate F-tests on the difference between the two groups on each RII subscale revealed that Ss either high in Racist or Nonracist varieties of racialism are less aware of Type 3 (Overt x Individual x Attitudinal) and Type 4 (Overt x Institutional x Attitudinal) Incidents than Ss low in Racist or Nonracist varieties of racialism. Additionally, Ss high in Racist Content were found to be less aware of Type 2 (Covert x Institutional x Attitudinal) Incidents than Ss low in Racist Content. That similar results were obtained by Allen and Taylor (in preparation) would suggest that the level of racialism, racist and nonracist, can make a difference in one's sensitivity to racialistic incidents. But the difference still is a relative one, that is, it is not possible to predict a person's level of sensitivity or awareness knowing only the person's level of racialism. These data are consistent with the notion of relative independence between the Contents and Incidents dimensions of the taxonomy, but the data just reviewed also suggest where this assumption is most vulnerable.

Sociogenic Variables. The Ego Defensiveness Sociogenic Variable is the only one which has been developed and tested. We have previously reported that both varieties of racialism are significantly associated with Ego Defensiveness (Dobbins, 1974), a relation which also bears upon the assumption of relative independence among dimensions of the taxonomy, in this instance between Contents and Sociogenic Variables. A tentative pool of items has been written for the remaining Sociogenic Variables (Taylor, Dobbins, and Wilson, 1972) and will be revised further and tested in the near future. Completion of this dimension will permit full testing of the model and its assumptions that more fine-grained diagnosis of racialism will more effectively guide interventions directed toward its remediation.

DIMENSIONALIZATION OF THE BLACK EXPERIENCE

We start out by introducing and discussing the four measures which we have developed over the past four years.

Development of Black Consciousness

My colleage, Dr. Jake Milliones, has described his effort to develop an instrument directed toward the measurement of presumptively developmental aspects of the Black Consciousness. The interested reader is referred to his paper for further details.

Identification with Black Nationalism

In surveying the political, sociological, and psychological literature on Black Nationalism, Terrell (1974) encountered four recurring themes which seemed to characterize the Nationalist's position: (a) Separation from the American white society; (b) Separation by whatever means necessary; (c) Glorification of Blackness; and (d) Condemnation of Whiteness. Such characterizations anchor the radical extreme of Nationalism, to be sure, and seem rather like Encounter and Immersion-Emersion phenomena as described by Cross (1971) or Confrontation and Internalization phenomena as described by Milliones (1973). It might well be that the present measure, the Black Ideology Scale, provides an important and systematic map of nationalistic interests which shift or intensify with stage-wise developments in Black Consciousness.

Terrell (1974) proposed that themes (a) through (d) could be applied to each of four Categories which in turn have three Subparts. These Categories and Subparts were used to establish the semantic domain for which items were written:

I. Philosophical Goals

A. Social Unity: This subscale assesses the extent to which blacks oppose social contact with whites in various contexts.

B. Educational Objectives: This subscale assesses the degree to which blacks oppose attending the same school, receiving a similar education, and being taught by white teachers.

C. Religious Objectives: This subscale determines opposition to the teachings of Christianity among blacks.

II. Cultural Goals

A. Dress Characteristics: This subscale assesses opposition to white dress codes among blacks.

B. Language Characteristics: This scale evaluates the degree to which blacks take pride in their linguistic code and reject the white linguistic code.

C. Physical Characteristics: This subscale assesses pride in the uniqueness of black features.

III. Ethics

A. Establishment of Laws: This subscale assesses the extent to which blacks feel that new and relevant laws are required for the black community.

B. Opposition to Existing Laws: This subscale reflects the extent to which blacks oppose existing laws.

C. Opposition to Integration: This subscale assesses the extent to which blacks reject the notion of being governed by whites and the extent to which they accept the notion of being governed by militant blacks.

IV. Economic Strategies and Tactics

A. Community Economics: This subscale is designed to assess the attitudes of blacks concerning trading with white merchants and the consumption of goods produced by whites.

B. Business Leadership: This subscale is designed to assess the extent to which blacks oppose cooperative business ventures with whites;

C. Employment Practices: This subscale investigates the extent to which blacks oppose working for whites.

Terrell wrote 12 statements for each of the 12 different subscales, with each statement to be rated on a seven-point response format ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree". All preliminary items were then examined by three black advanced graduate students in psychology and by a black Ph.D. clinical psychologist, each of whom was given domain and subdomain descriptions for the BIS. Where any one judge failed to agree with the remaining two about the subdomain placement of a given item, it was either eliminated and replaced or rewritten until all judges agreed on its placement. Finally, the items were typed in a randomized order and administered to 134 eleventh and twelfth grade black male Ss selected from a high school in Pittsburgh. All Ss fell within the 17-20 age range.

As with the Racialism research, item analyses were carried out to ensure that each item was (a) discriminating relative to the construct it was written to measure; (b) homogeneous relative to the construct it was written to measure, (c) relatively desaturated with social desirability; and (d) more correlated with the subscale for which it was written than with subscales for which it was not written. Surviving these procedures were 112 items.

Construct validation of the BIS has also been undertaken. Terrell (1974) examined the patterning of the BIS with appropriate scales measuring knowledge of black norms and habits (Penick, 1971) and assessing internalization of white norms (Taylor, Wilson, and Dobbins, 1972). Terrell found that those identifying strongly with a Black Nationalist Ideology, as inferred from the BIS, were more likely to be knowledgeable of black norms and habits and less likely to internalize white norms about black people. Thus, it appeared in this instance that identification with a Nationalistic perspective has attitudinal and cognitive consequences. George Carter (1974), utilizing the BIS and other personality estimates on 221 male and female 17 - 23 year old college students, found that progressive identification with a Nationalist perspective was associated with an internal locus of control orientation. In other words, it was found that Ss espousing a Nationalistic Ideology experience a sense of personal determination and control over what happens to them.

Identification with the Black Heroic Social Type

Larry Coleman (1975) suggests that "Black social types are emblems and articulations of the dominant concerns, needs, and attention of the people who identify with them" (p. 5). As such, a black social type is a symbolic reference community which provides an important and stable basis for self and other evaluation. While such reference communities may be either heroic or villainous Coleman limited his study to the first of these. This research proceeded in three stages.

In the first stage, Coleman conducted an extensive review of the literature, primarily in communications, sociolinguistics, and anthropology, to identify criterial attributes of the social type construct in general. As a part of this stage, he also conducted in-depth interviews with three Afro-Americans who had intimate familarity with the Black American Experience. All interviewees were adult, extensively read in Black history, literature, culture, and each had positive ideas about Afro-Americans of all social classes. From these interviews and the literature review emerged the following four criterial attributes of the Heroic Bad Nigger Social Type (HBNST):

I. Splendid Performer: Describes those who are generally possessed with a unique and exceptional ability and style for accomplishing a given task. Splendid performers are winners and emotional, physical, or intellectual 'giants'.

II. Group Leader/Servant: Describes an individual who is a defender, leader, spokesman, and key member of a particular group.

III. Independent Spirit: Describes one who stands alone, takes risks, is a critic of society and social problems, and who may be seen as a kind of rebel.

IV. Man of Integrity: Describes one who has high ethical and moral standards, who is extremely responsible and exceptionally sensitive (Coleman, 1975, p.44).

Coleman used the results of the first stage to initiate the second stage which involved writing and judging the appropriateness of items for each of the four attributes just identified. After Coleman had written the initial trial set of items, he had three judges independently rate the extent to which each item was an appropriate mapping of the attribute for which it was written. Where two of the three judges agreed on an item's appropriateness, the item was retained; otherwise, it was either eliminated or rewritten for subsequent rating by the judges. But in the final analysis, each item had been judged appropriate for a given location by at least two of the three judges, this procedure producing 160 items in all, 40 for each attribute.

In the third stage, the HBNST trial inventory was administered to 100 black incarcerated males between the ages of 19 and 45. All participants were at least high school graduates, with 50 of these being enrolled in a four-year college program in the prison. Each item was rated on a seven-point Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree continuum. Applying the same psychometric strategies (a) through (d) used by Terrell in the preeceding section, the original item pool of 160 was dramatically reduced to 20. Reductions of this magnitude are difficult to explain away, but two possibilities seem important to consider. First, participants were all incarcerated and half of them were enrolled in a four-year college program. There is the possibility, therefore, that we were dealing with a population that was attitudinally homogeneous relative to the construct BNST that we were attempting to measure. To the extent this possibility obtained, the BNST Inventory would encounter stiff difficulty in differentiating a group that was relatively alike on the construct being estimated. This argument suggests that the problem resides more in the sampling procedure than in the instrument, a notion that can only be put to a test where a more diversified sampling strategy is used. But even if this line of reasoning is correct, the present revision of the BNST Inventory should be _at least_ as discriminating in an attitudinally heterogeneous context as it has been in an attitudinally homogeneous context. We tentatively suggest that the BNST Inventory in its revised version is ready for further testing in either context.

A second possibility which may be entertained is that the BNST universe is more of a global construct and not easily partionable, at least not along the lines proposed in the Coleman study. Before this second possibility becomes a serious candidate for explaining Coleman's results, further testing along the lines suggested in the preceeding paragraph appears necessary, linked to which would be the need for validational studies which we do not have at this point. Are students who identify with The Splendid Performer attribute, for example, superior achievers themselves? Are persons who identify with the Independent Spirit dimension, as another example, also political activists? Likewise, how do shifts in Black Consciousness development or identifications with Black Nationalism pattern with identification with attributes defining the BNST construct? Since the presence and quality of involvement of blacks in the world has much to do with the growth and survival of the community, it is hoped that this instrument along with the others can be used as tools to explore means for advancing this end.

Development of Psychological Identity

While each of the measures introduced in the three preceeding sections identify important aspects of the Black Experience, we also felt the need to have a more general measure of psychological identity. Smith (1973) developed an inventory which maps each of the seven phases of identity as described by Erik Erikson (1950):

I. Time Perspective: Estimates the extent to which there is an inner conviction that sufficient satisfaction can come about as a result of ones "waiting" and "working" for something in time.

II. Self-Certainty: Estimates the extent to which there are appropriate feelings of self-confidence and certainty.

III. Role Experimentation: Estimates the extent to which there is readiness to try on and experiment with a variety of social roles.

IV. Anticipation of Achievement: Estimates the extent to which there is the expectation that ones performance will lead to a strong feeling of inner satisfaction and accomplishment.

V. Sexual Identity: Estimates the extent to which there is full identification with both genital and social aspects of ones sex.

VI. Leadership Polarization: Estimates the extent to which there is a balanced frame of reference that provides an orientation toward responsible leading and following.

VII. Ideological Polarization: Estimates the extent to which one has evolved a relatively consistent ideology in such matters as religion and politics.

Based upon Erikson's conceptualization of identity, Smith (1973) wrote 235 items. Thirty-four items were constructed for the first four phases, while thirty-three items were written for the remaining phases. Each item was reviewed independently by three psychologists familiar with Erikson's conceptualization of identity. Consensus among the three judges was required for all items included in the preliminary inventory. Subjects used in the initial study were 161 Afro-American freshman and sophomore males attending a Southern college.

Five statistical operations were performed to evaluate the items of the Measure of Identity (MI). Analyses issued from a double cross-replicated design and a sequential item selection strategy involving tests of item discrimination and homogeneity and procedures for desaturating social desirability from phase scores and determining the differential validity of each item. In essence, then, the analytic structure was similar to that utilized by Terrell (1973). Following implementation of this strategy, 105 of the 235 items survived. Murdock (1974), testing the MI on 180 black male and female students attending a college in the Midwest, found that identity structure between black males and females is quite similar except for Phase III--Role Experimentation--and Phase V--Sexual Identity.

The advantages of using Smith's MI in the present research may be summarized briefly. First, the MI is the only existing measure of identity developed on black adolescents. Second, the psychometric properties of the MI relieve it of many of the problems characteristic of most inventory procedures It provides us with an important basis for evaluating the transformation in psychological identity accompanying shifts in Black Consciousness development and ones location on the BNST and Nationalistic constructs.

PRESENT RESEARCH

Over the last two years, we have been involved in a major research effort to norm and further validate the Racialistic Contents Inventory; the Racialistic Incidents Inventory; the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness; the Black Ideology Scale; and the Measure of Identity inventory on 1041 black college students. While schools from the Western States are not represented in our sample, there is a good balance between schools located in Northern and Southern States and those in which black students are numerically in a majority or minority. More specifically, about 41% of those tested are from Northern schools, with 59% being from Southern schools; about 22% are from schools having predominately white enrollment, with 79% being from predominately black schools. The sample also is fairly balanced in terms of male-female representativeness.

All data have been collected on each of the measures indicated and on a variety of personality and perceptual measures in addition. We are presently analyzing these data, the results of which should provide rather extensive norms on each measure. It is quite likely that such norms will have rich clinical and research implications. On the validational side, we should be in a position to identify important personality, attitudinal, and perceptual consequences of the Black Experience. Perhaps we shall also have sufficient luck to identify personality, attitudinal, and perceptual factors that presage entry into the Black Experience. Whatever the outcome, we shall utilize our findings as means to an important end: The growth and survival of the black community.

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APPENDIX

Enumeration of 144 Conceptual Varieties of Racialism

Ref. No.	Incident Category		Sociogenic Variable		Racialistic Content
1.	Type 1*	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
2.	Type 1	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
3.	Type 1	x	Internalization	x	Racist
4.	Type 1	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
5.	Type 1	x	Identification	x	Racist
6.	Type 1	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
7.	Type 1	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
8.	Type 1	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
9.	Type 1	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
10.	Type 1	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
11.	Type 1	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
12.	Type 1	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

*Type 1: Covert x Individual x Attitudinal

Ref. No.	Incident Category		Sociogenic Variable		Racialistic Content
13.	Type 2*	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
14.	Type 2	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
15.	Type 2	x	Internalization	x	Racist
16.	Type 2	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
17.	Type 2	x	Identification	x	Racist
18.	Type 2	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
19.	Type 2	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
20.	Type 2	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
21.	Type 2	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
22.	Type 2	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
23.	Type 2	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
24.	Type 2	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

*Type 2: Covert x Institutional x Attitudinal

Enumeration of 144 Conceptual Varieties of Racialism

Ref. No.	Incident Category		Sociogenic Variable		Racialistic Content
25.	Type 3*	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
26.	Type 3	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
27.	Type 3	x	Internalization	x	Racist
28.	Type 3	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
29.	Type 3	x	Identification	x	Racist
30.	Type 3	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
31.	Type 3	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
32.	Type 3	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
33.	Type 3	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
34.	Type 3	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
35.	Type 3	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
36.	Type 3	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

***Type 3:** Overt x Individual x Attitudinal

37.	Type 4*	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
38.	Type 4	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
39.	Type 4	x	Internalization	x	Racist
40.	Type 4	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
41.	Type 4	x	Identification	x	Racist
42.	Type 4	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
43.	Type 4	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
44.	Type 4	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
45.	Type 4	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
46.	Type 4	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
47.	Type 4	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
48.	Type 4	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

***Type 4:** Overt x Institutional x Attitudinal

Enumeration of 144 Conceptual Varieties of Racialism

Ref. No.	Incident Category		Sociogenic Variable		Racialistic Content
49.	Type 5*	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
50.	Type 5	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
51.	Type 5	x	Internalization	x	Racist
52.	Type 5	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
53.	Type 5	x	Identification	x	Racist
54.	Type 5	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
55.	Type 5	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
56.	Type 5	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
57.	Type 5	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
58.	Type 5	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
59.	Type 5	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
60.	Type 5	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

***Type 5:** Covert x Individual x **Behavioral**

Ref. No.	Incident Category		Sociogenic Variable		Racialistic Content
61.	Type 6*	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
62.	Type 6	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
63.	Type 6	x	Internalization	x	Racist
64.	Type 6	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
65.	Type 6	x	Identification	x	Racist
66.	Type 6	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
67.	Type 6	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
68.	Type 6	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
69.	Type 6	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
70.	Type 6	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
71.	Type 6	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
72.	Type 6	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

***Type 5:** Covert x Institutional x **Behavioral**

Enumeration of 144 Conceptual Varieties of Racialism

Ref. No.	Incident Category		Sociogenic Variable		Racialistic Content
73.	**Type 7***	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
74.	**Type 7**	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
75.	**Type 7**	x	Internalization	x	Racist
76.	**Type 7**	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
77.	**Type 7**	x	Identification	x	Racist
78.	**Type 7**	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
79.	**Type 7**	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
80.	**Type 7**	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
81.	**Type 7**	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
82.	**Type 7**	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
83.	**Type 7**	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
84.	**Type 7**	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

***Type 7:** **Overt** x Individual x **Behavioral**

Ref. No.	Incident Category		Sociogenic Variable		Racialistic Content
85.	**Type 8***	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
86.	**Type 8**	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
87.	**Type 8**	x	Internalization	x	Racist
88.	**Type 8**	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
89.	**Type 8**	x	Identification	x	Racist
90.	**Type 8**	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
91.	**Type 8**	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
92.	**Type 8**	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
93.	**Type 8**	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
94.	**Type 8**	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
95.	**Type 8**	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
96.	**Type 8**	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

***Type 8:** **Overt** x Institutional x **Behavioral**

Enumeration of 144 Conceptual Varieties of Racialism

Ref. No.	Incident Category		Sociogenic Variable		Racialistic Content
97.	Type 9*	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
98.	Type 9	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
99.	Type 9	x	Internalization	x	Racist
100.	Type 9	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
101.	Type 9	x	Identification	x	Racist
102.	Type 9	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
103.	Type 9	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
104.	Type 9	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
105.	Type 9	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
106.	Type 9	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
107.	Type 9	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
108.	Type 9	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

***Type 9: Attitudinal-Behavioral x Institutional x Covert**

109.	Type 10*	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
110.	Type 10	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
111.	Type 10	x	Internalization	x	Racist
112.	Type 10	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
113.	Type 10	x	Identification	x	Racist
114.	Type 10	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
115.	Type 10	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
116.	Type 10	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
117.	Type 10	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
118.	Type 10	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
119.	Type 10	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
120.	Type 10	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

***Type 10: Attitudinal-Behavioral x Institutional x Overt**

Enumeration of 144 Conceptual Varieties of Racialism

Ref. No.	Incident Category		Sociogenic Variable		Racialistic Content
121.	Type 11*	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
122.	Type 11	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
123.	Type 11	x	Internalization	x	Racist
124.	Type 11	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
125.	Type 11	x	Identification	x	Racist
126.	Type 11	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
127.	Type 11	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
128.	Type 11	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
129.	Type 11	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
130.	Type 11	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
131.	Type 11	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
132.	Type 11	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

*Type 11: Attitudinal-Behavioral x Individual x Covert

Ref. No.	Incident Category		Sociogenic Variable		Racialistic Content
133.	Type 12*	x	Social Effect	x	Racist
134.	Type 12	x	Social Effect	x	Nonracist
135.	Type 12	x	Internalization	x	Racist
136.	Type 12	x	Internalization	x	Nonracist
137.	Type 12	x	Identification	x	Racist
138.	Type 12	x	Identification	x	Nonracist
139.	Type 12	x	Utilitarian	x	Racist
140.	Type 12	x	Utilitarian	x	Nonracist
141.	Type 12	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Racist
142.	Type 12	x	Frust., Agg., Displ.	x	Nonracist
143.	Type 12	x	Ego Defense	x	Racist
144.	Type 12	x	Ego Defense	x	Nonracist

*Type 12: Attitudinal-Behavioral x Individual x Overt

ED148944

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF CONCEPT AND RACE ATTITUDES OF YOUNG BLACK CHILDREN OVER TIME

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Presented at Cornell University: October 29, 1976
Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology III

UD017656

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF CONCEPT AND RACE ATTITUDES OF YOUNG BLACK CHILDREN OVER TIME

The development of the racial and self attitudes of young Black children over time has been a concern of many. The child's awareness of his individual existence, the perceptions of who he is and what he is result from the interaction with his environment and how significant others in this domain view him and the groups of which he is a member.

The importance of parental attitudes as intervening variables in the development has been stressed by many authors (Horowitz, 1939; Goodman, 1952; Cole, 1967; and Lipscomb, 1975). The impact of external institutions and the mass media have also been singled out as important socializers upon how the child views his racial group (Graves, 1975). All of these forces combine to form the child's view of how he and his ethnic group fit into his view of the world.

From the earliest studies in the late 30s and even until presently, authors have repeatedly reported that the young Black child has low self-esteem and negative racial attitudes (Clark and Clark, 1939; Clark, 1952, 1963; Goodman, 1952; Asher and Allen, 1969). Self concept and racial attitudes were assumed to have a linear relationship. The self-hatred hypothesis has been widely accepted in lay and professional literature. Only limited questioning of this view has occurred, as varied results have been obtained (Porter, 1966, 1971; Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968).

More recent findings have indicated a more positive view of the Black child's ethnic identity (J. McAdoo, 1970; Hraba and Grant, 1970; Fox and Barnes, 1971; Ward and Braun, 1972; Lipscomb, 1975). These desirable re-

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The Mississippi and Michigan data were collected with the assistance of a University of Michigan Rachkam Research Grant, 1969. The DC I data collection was supported by a 1972 Howard University Faculty Grant. The DC II data were collected under an Office of Child Development Grant, #OCD-CB-282, 1973. Follow-up funds were made through a 1974 Faculty Research Grant.

sults have been attributed to two factors: improved research methodology and the increase in Black consciousness and self pride within the Black community.

We have collected such data, over a period of five years, on Black children that should provide insights in the development of and the relationship between these variables. I began to look at these variables as I viewed my own four children experiencing the painful contradictions of growing up Black in our society. They reached an awareness of race, made their self-race identities, and then coped with the complicated process of forming racial preferences.

Proceeding through the socialization process is a complicated one for all children, filled with hazards and high points. It is even more difficult for Black children. They have a double-developmental task, at first they must incorporate the dominant values of our society. These values insidiously include a devaluation of those who are non-white. At the same time they must incorporate the values of the Black community and culture, that are often in conflict with the dominant society (H. McAdoo, 1974). The conflict of values, which is experienced universally by American Blacks, must be resolved in some manner so that the individual may become a functioning adult.

In examining how Black children resolve this apparent conflict, it is necessary to ask ourselves three questions:

1. How does the average Black child feel about himself? Is he usually happy or sad; does he really feel he is a person of worth?
2. What does he feel about being Black? Is he really seething with anger, hatred or wishful thinking? Or is he proud or indifferent

to his racial group?

3. How are his feelings of self worth impacted by what he feels about his racial group?

The traditional view of the resolution of this conflict has earlier been seen in the literature as resulting in self hatred. The child, from this point of view, was seen as developing an acceptance of the societal preference for white, inferring a hatred for blackness. This preference for white was seen as a rejection of that which is black: be it skin color, hair texture, facial and body features, and even speech patterns. If one blames the Black child and his alleged "self hatred" for his inability to score high on standardized tests, then the purest form of blaming the victim rather than the system is at play.

In light of the many happy Black youngsters seen, my personal dissatisfaction with the view that Black children hate themselves has caused me to reexamine the literature and my old data, to collect follow-up data and to take another look at these issues.

Many studies have been made on either self concept or related racial attitudes. However, these variables have not been combined in empirical investigations until recently (H. McAdoo 1970; Ward and Braun 1972). Often authors have collected hard data on only one variable, i.e., race preference, but have extended the discussion into other areas. This happens when out-group oriented responses given by children to skin color tests are interpreted by a researcher as being indicative of impaired self concepts. These interpretations may or may not be supported by data. The self hatred philosophy, which is the prevalent view being taught to most graduate students and professionals, appears to be faulty and ultimately damaging to the Black child. The negative expectations that result from these attitudes could be a direct intervening variable in later school performance that has been shown to be related to eventual self worth.

The possibility that no such relationship between racial attitude and self concept exists is one that most of us find difficult to conceptualize. We have all been so imbued with the image of a unitary self concept that it is almost impossible to envision how a child may feel good about himself on one dimension, poorly of himself on another, or even ambivalent on a third, all at the same time. We still tend to feel that if a child picks up the Caucasian doll as the prettiest doll, then he, therefore, hates the other pretty Black doll, and ultimately must hate himself. Presented in these simple terms, the self hatred view appears absurd. Yet this is exactly how the Black child research has been interpreted in the past.

In contrast to the self-hatred theory, a few researchers have begun to take a different theoretical tack (Cross, 1974; H. McAdoo, 1974) because supposed direct linear relationship between these variables has not been supported by data. Three views of the relation now appear possible: 1) that a curvilinear relation exists between the two variables; 2) a compartmentalization is possible between the two variables race attitude and self concept; or that 3) no such relationship exists.

Several researchers have hypothesized that there will be a nonlinear relationship between these variables (Spencer, 1973; Cross, 1974). Spencer (1973) has found that both negative and positive race attitudes are found in preschoolers who have positive self concepts. It is possible that Black children are able to compartmentalize their view of themselves from their view of their racial group. My earlier (1970) data have not supported the linear hypothesis. The results obtained partially support both the non-linear (or curvilinear) view and the compartmentalized view.

My research on the development of the Black child has concentrated on four aspects: the development of self-esteem and racial attitudes in Black preschool children from preschool age and over a period of time; the relationship between these variables; the impact of demographic factors upon these developments; and the occupational and educational aspirations of the children.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Subjects

Data were obtained from three different groups of children, each at two points in time. The original testing was followed up in one year in the Mid-Atlantic area, and in five years with the Mississippi and Michigan samples.

	1969	1972	1973	1974
Mississippi	X			X
Michigan	X			X
D.C.		X	X	

Fig. 1 Testing Time

Data were collected in three different demographic areas: 1) an all-Black Mississippi rural town; 2) a racially-mixed Michigan urban setting; and 3) a Mid-Atlantic urban, predominantly Black setting.

The subjects in the pretest studies consisted of four-and-a-half to six-and-a-half year old Black children, who were enrolled in full-day, year-long,day care programs with an educational component.

The Mississippi preschool sample of 43 had a mean age of 5.5 years and 10.8 years upon retesting. They were from Mound Bayou, a town founded by former slaves, which has remained in Black ownership. A great deal of pride exists within this town. It was considered an ideal place to test the hypotheses that children in stable, all-Black communities will be able to develop stronger self concepts.

The Michigan sample of 35 had a mean age of 5.2 years on the pretest and 10.5 years on the follow up. They lived outside of Detroit in a residentially segregated, metropolitan area with integrated schools. All of the children were born in the North, although many of the parents had come from the South to work in the automobile factories.

The DC sample was in a predominantly Black residential and school environment, with limited interracial contacts. Sixty-eight children of working-class and middle-class families, whose mean age was 5.4 years, were in the original DC I sample. Fifty-five of the children were retested twelve months later.

Research Procedure

All of the children in the appropriate age group were tested by trained Black adults. The effect of the sex of the examiner was controlled by having each interviewer test half of the boys and half of the girls. To control for the possible effect of father absence in the home, within each sex group, the same proportion of two-parent to one-parent families was maintained, approximately 75 percent to 25 percent. These proportions were used to reflect the census data on Black families nationally.

After the data were collected, t-tests were run on all of the data collected by the two examiners. No significant difference between the testers was found and the data were then combined. To avoid the bias that may be introduced if one test was consistently presented first, two orders of presentation were used, thereby preventing the formation of a presentation set. In all cases, the racial identification procedure was presented last, to avoid contamination from this task to the responses for the other instruments. The basic assumption of this study was that race and self attitudes are multidimensional; therefore, several approaches should be used to obtain data that would accurately reflect the many dimensions of how a child feels about himself.

There are several methodological problems inherent in any follow-up study. We experienced the usual loss of subjects upon retesting that placed serious limitations upon the multivariate analyses that were possible. Increasing the number of assessments made for each child enlarged the breadth of the study and attempted to offset the problem of a smaller number of subjects.

The Northern sample proved to be very stable. Twenty-four of the original 35 children (69 percent) were found and retested. But only 8 of the original 43 (19 percent) on whom there was complete data in the South still resided in the area. The dropout rate probably reflected the agricultural changes occurring in the rural Delta area. Giant agribusinesses were moving in, taking over the smaller farms, and replacing human labor with giant machines. Many of the parents were reported as having moved North, usually to the Chicago area, looking for jobs and following the migration patterns of earlier relatives. To augment the small Southern post-test sample, a cohort group of 13 children, for whom we had partial pretest data, was given the complete battery. The original 8 and cohort 13 were compared on all variables and no significant differences were found on any of the variables. Pre- and post-test comparisons were run for the original group alone and for the combined group. No differences were found in the results. Therefore, the two groups were combined to form the Mississippi follow-up group.

The data are organized on the basis of the three studies: Study I Mississippi and Michigan preschool; Study II DC one year preschool follow up; and Study III Mississippi and Michigan five year follow up.

Data Collection Instruments

Self Concept. Two main procedures were used to collect self-concept (SC) data: the Thomas Self-concept Values Test, and the Engle Self-concept Procedures.

The Thomas asks 14 bipolar questions that provides an assessment of how the child views himself, and then how the child perceived how he is viewed by important reference persons: mother, teachers, and peers. These questions are asked in relation to the child's own Polaroid picture. The questions ask how the child rates himself on the dimensions of appearance, size, ability, sociability, happiness, strength, etc.

There was one problem with the Thomas: a sex-bias against girls was built into the standardized format. Girls were scored lower if they viewed themselves as strong (vs weak), or big (vs small). Because the girls consistently scored themselves similarly to the boys, and since recent sex-role attitudes and the literature did not support this biased scoring, it was eliminated, scoring all sexes in the same manner. Further support for this position was given in the 1976 APA Presidential Address in which Hartup (1976) stated in summary SC findings that size is positively related to self concept until the third grade, but there is no correlation afterward.

The Engle self-concept procedure was the second instrument used to measure self-esteem. The child was shown an illustration of two stick figures standing at both ends of a stepladder with five steps. One figure was identified as having positive characteristics (happy) and the other as being negative (sad). The child's self-evaluation statement was rated by his placement of a mark on one of the rungs of the ladder illustration. Seven different selections are made (appearance, strength, likability, ability, happiness, bravery, and following rules).

The Self Portrait and Story Technique used by Porter (1971) was given only in the follow-up study as a measure of self image and racial group attitude. Each child was asked to select a piece of paper when shown eight sheets of paper (two each of black, brown, tan, and white) in identical random order. They were then given a new box of crayons and asked to draw themselves. They then were asked in a non-directive manner to tell a story about the drawing. Porter set up self-esteem scoring on the assumption that the most detailed, lively pictures indicated a more positive self image. Facial expression, size, and position on the page were scored as emotional indicators. The thematic content of stories were coded for personal efficacy, powerlessness and lively descriptions.

Two trained coders worked independently of each other to determine the presence or absence of each category. On each coding disagreement the two coders had to reach a consensus before the final score was assigned.

Racial Group Attitudes. The racial attitudes (RA) was assessed five ways: PRAM II; Clark's Dolls Test; a Racial Identification Procedure; Racial Group Awareness; and a separate Racial Content Scoring of the Self Portraits. The last two were used only with the follow-up group.

The Williams and Roberson Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM II) was used, in which children are shown a picture of two figures, identical except for skin and color. A story was read to the children describing a person in either negative or positive terms. The children are then asked to point to the person who appears in the story. There are twelve possible picture pairs from which to select. If the choices were due to random selection and there were no relationships between the content of the picture and the child's choices, the score should fall around six, as in a binomial distribution (Guilford, 1956). A score between 10 and 12 could be considered white-oriented, while 2 to 0 could be considered Black-oriented, using the standardized scoring of Williams and Roberson.

Race Preference and Race Self-Identity were obtained with a modification of the original Clark's dolls test. Seven questions were related to the preference of the dark or light-skinned doll, when asked to evaluatively select a doll (pretty, ugly, nice, etc.). The two identity questions found what race the children believed themselves to be (looks like you now; as a baby).

The Racial Identification score was the number of times the child correctly pointed to the race content pictures of the PRAM (3 Black and 3 white) when asked to identify a person of a particular race.

The Racial Content from the Self Portrait procedure was scored according to a scheme developed by this researcher which was based on the color of paper chosen and the presence of five ratings of Negroid characteristics (skin and hair color; hair type and style; facial features; and Black cultural artifacts).

The Racial Group Awareness score was obtained when the children were asked, "What type of person do most people in America think is best?" They are given the choices of different groups: Black, Jewish, white Protestant and white Catholic. The question was repeated until the child had ranked all of the groups.

Aspirations. The occupational and educational aspirations were obtained by simply asking the child, parent, and teacher how far the child would go in school and what job they would like her to have, or she would like to have.

RESULTS

Study I: Mississippi and Michigan Preschool Data

Self-Concept Results. Self-concept scores were viewed to see how they were impacted by (1) demography, (2) sex of the child, and (3) family type. On the Thomas Self-Concept Test, all of the samples had positive self-concept scores, within one standard deviation of the mean of 50. The self-hatred hypothesis was not supported by the data because positive self-concepts were found in all groups.

The demographic location of the sample was an important factor; the children in the urban centers had lower self-concept scores than those in the rural areas. On the first testing, the preschool children in the Southern all-Black town ($M = 51.42$) had significantly higher self-concept scores than those in the integrated Northern urban center ($M = 46.63$).

A three-way analysis of variance was run on the Thomas self-concept scores using the demographic, sex, and family type groups as the independent variables (see Table 1). The demographic difference was significant at the .01 level, $F\ (1,70) = 9.31$, but the sex and family type differences did not reach significance. The three-way interaction was significant at the .01 level, $F\ (1,70) = 8.65$, see Table 1. Of the eight demographic x sex x family type groups, the Southern one-parent boys had the highest self-concept (56.56) and the Northern two-parent girls had the lowest (41.82) see Table 2.

Insert Table 1 about here

Insert Table 2 about here

An analysis of variance with five replications was run on the total and four referent SC scores by demography, using a program of Winer's (1971). The demographic group difference was significant - F (1,76) = 6.95, $p < .009$. The reference group (trials) difference was significant $F(4,304) = 7.08$, $p < .0001$. The low score of the Teacher

Insert Table 3 about here

referent scale score contributed heavily to the lower total Northern score. The children felt better about themselves than they felt they were perceived by their teachers or peers, especially in the North. The Southern children scored positively on all four referent groups. The interaction between demography and reference groups was not significant (see Table 3). The Southern children with only Black teachers scored significantly higher on Teacher's perception of them $F(1,77) = 7.37$, $p < .01$ and Peer rating $F(1,77) = 6.73$, $p < .05$. The self referent rating and mother perception were positive for both groups. A sex difference on reference groups was not found (see Table 4).

Insert Table 4 about here

An analysis of variance was run on the self-concept scores for each of the fourteen bipolar scores by demography. Differences were found on only two scales: size and sharing. The Southern children scored themselves as bigger $\underline{F}(1,76) = 7.63$, $\underline{p} < .01$ and also were more willing to share their toys $\underline{F}(1,76) = 4.38$, $\underline{p} < .05$.

Since each child had been weighed and measured, it was possible to determine if an actual physical difference existed. In fact, the Southern children at 44.65 lbs. and 45.53 inches (20.25 kg, 115.65 cm) were significantly taller $\underline{F}(1,76) = 7.66$, $\underline{p} < .01$, but not heavier than the Northern children at 44.64 lbs. and 44 inches (20.25 kg, 111.76 cm). No sex differences nor family type differences were found in the actual size of the child.

The bipolar SC items were also run by family type and sex. The only family type difference was that the one-parent children were more willing to share $\underline{F}(1,76) = 5.25$, $\underline{p} < .05$. The only sex difference was that the boys scored higher on liking "to be with men" than the girls $\underline{F}(1,76) = 8.32$, $\underline{p} < .05$.

Race Attitude. The mean RA for this sample was higher than chance selection. A moderate out-group oriented mean score of 8.79 was obtained for the total sample, with no significant demography, sex, or family type differences found (see Table 5).

Insert Table 5 about here

This moderate out-group orientation is less than found in earlier data with Black children. These scores were significantly more favorable toward Blacks than the contemporary data of white preschool children using the same procedures with Roberson (1967). Williams and Roberson's white preschool sample $\underline{t}$ (50) = 3.90, $\underline{p} < .01$.

Racial Identification. The scores indicate that the children were well aware of proper racial titles, for the average score was 5.65 out of a possible 6. A three-way anova was run on these scores, with no sex or family differences found. The children in the Southern one-parent families all gave perfectly correct identifications ($\underline{M} = 6$, $\underline{SD} = 0$). The children in the South were able to identify correctly significantly more pictures than those in the North $\underline{F}(1,70) = 7.58$, $\underline{p} < .01$.

The more accurate the race identification score, the more positively oriented was their attitude toward whites for these groups. Correctness of race identification correlated significantly with out-group racial orientation for the boys $\underline{r} = .330$, $\underline{p} < .05$ and for children from two-parent families $\underline{r} = .367$, $\underline{p} < .05$. No intercorrelationships were found in the other groups (see Table 6).

Insert Table 6 about here

The accuracy of responses to the picture of the two races was separately correlated with the other variables. No relationship was found with race attitude. A demographic difference was found, with no relationship in the North. In the South, positive self concept was related to the response accuracy of the Black pictures $\underline{r} = .613$, $\underline{p} < .01$, but no relationship at all was found in responses to the white pictures. In the North, self concept was not related to either type of picture.

Relationship between Race Attitude and Self-Concept. The crucial tenet of the self-hate thesis is that race attitude and self-concept are directly related but the results were found to be mixed. No such relationship was found with Northern, one-parent or either sex group when combined across demography. These groups felt positive about their own self worth independently of what racial group orientation they held.

A relationship was found with the Southern boys $\underline{r} = .534$, $\underline{p} < .01$ and the combined two-parent family groups $\underline{r} = .404$, $\underline{p} < .01$. In these groups, those with positive self-concepts had more out-group orientation. The Southern relationship was attributed to the divergent scores obtained by the Southern boys, the group with the highest SC scores.

Self concept was positively correlated with the accuracy of racial identification for the Southern boys $\underline{r} = .712$, $\underline{p} < .01$ and Southern girls $\underline{r} = .712$, $\underline{p} < .05$. The children in the South who were more accurate in designating the race of the picture also scored higher in self-esteem. Different relationships were found in the Northern sample. The Northern girls, with the lowest self-concept scores, had a significantly negative relationship; those who had positive self-esteem tended to make inaccurate identifications. No relationships were found among these boys.

To sum up the first study, the children had positive self-esteems, were moderately out-group oriented, and were easily able to identify pictures by their racial labels. The majority tended to compartmentalize their feelings about themselves and their status attitude toward their racial group.

Study II - DC One Year Follow Up

First Testing

Self Concept. On the first testing the fifty-five urban children had low average Thomas self concepts (M = 44.18; SD = 9.87). There were no significant SC differences between sex, family types, or SES class groups. The analysis of variances run on sex by family type obtained no significant difference $F(3,48) = 2.75$, nor were differences found between sex by working class groups $F(3,47) = 2.65$.

The pattern of SC scores for significant others was found in this group that was similar to that found in Mississippi and Michigan. These children felt that the teachers viewed them negatively (M = 40.05), while they still felt good about themselves (M = 49.07). Scores for peers were also low (M = 41.36). The total lower score can be attributed to their low teacher and peer perception scores.

Similar self-concept results were obtained using the Engle procedure. The children had a very positive mean SC score of 28.69 out of a possible 35, SD = 4.56. No sex, family type or SES differences were found.

Race Attitude. These urban children had a moderate out-group orientation, with a mean RA score (M = 8.45), that was almost identical to that of the earlier Mississippi and Michigan sample. No sex differences were found, but significant SES family RA differences were found.

The highest out-group orientation obtained in all studies was found in the DC I two-parent families (M = 10), much higher than those in one-parent families t (53) = 3.82, $p < .01$. Those in middle-class families (M = 9.73) had more white-oriented scores than children from working-class families $\underline{M} = 7.94$, $\underline{t}\,(53) = 3.35$, $\underline{p} < .01$. When grouped by sex, both groups had moderate out-group orientation, while those from one-parent and working-class families had mean scores in the chance range, $\underline{M} = 7.92, 7.94$ respectively.

On the Clark race preference and identity dolls test, all of the groups displayed a positive evaluation of the white doll, regardless of sex, SES, or family type group. There were two dolls sub-scores obtained: race attitude and self identity. All group mean scores were out-group oriented ($\underline{M} = 2.62$), more than in the Mississippi and Michigan samples. In addition, they were able to exhibit correct self identification only half of the time ($\underline{M} = 0.93$), with no group differences. By contrast, all children in the Mississippi sample gave correct self identification.

Relationship of RA and SC. No support for the self-hatred hypothesis was found. No relationship was found between Thomas self concept and racial attitude, or between self concept and dolls self identity. Relationships were found on the dolls race preference questions for three subgroups: the girls ($\underline{r} = -.556$), two-parent ($\underline{r} = -.596$) and middle class ($\underline{r} = -.588$) groups. When they were high on self concept, they were also out-group oriented. No relationships were evident in the other groups. Again, the children's self concept was intact, regardless of how they felt about the status differential of racial groups (see Table 7).

Insert Table 7 about here

Second Testing

One year later the fifty-five children were retested, using identical procedures. Self concepts had improved, while race attitudes remained the same.

Self Concept. The average Thomas self concepts had increased significantly from 44.18 to 49.38 by the second year $\underline{t}$ (54) = 3.05, $p < .01$ (see Table 8). The greatest improvement had occurred in the girls who were in two-parent families and who were middle class (see Fig. 2).

Insert Table 8 about here

The self concept increase is also accounted for by the marked increase in three reference scores. The children continued to view themselves positively, but they indicated a significant increase in important persons in their lives who now viewed them more positively: the scores for Mother $\underline{t}$ (54) = 2.23, $\underline{p} < .05$, Teachers $\underline{t}$ (54) = 3.43, $\underline{p} < .01$, and Peers - $\underline{t}$ (54) = 3.80, $\underline{p} < .01$, all had significant increases (see Fig. 3).

The children felt much more positive about their own self worth by the second year. The Engle scores did not change, but continued to remain high for both years. The one-dimension design of the Engle procedure did not appear to be as sensitive as the multi-dimensional design of the Thomas. When compared by groups on the Thomas the children from two-parent homes then had significantly better self concepts $\underline{t}$ (54) = 2.28, $\underline{p} < .05$. The middle class children were also significantly more positive about their self worth than those who were working class $\underline{t}$ (54) = 2.69, $\underline{p} < .01$. The boys tended to be non-significantly higher than the girls in both years (see Table 9).

Insert Table 9 about here

Significant sex by class group differences were found - $\underline{F}$ (3,47) = 3.72, $\underline{p} < .05$. The middle-class girls felt very positive ($\underline{M}$ = 57.00) about themselves, while the lowest scores were obtained from the working-class girls ($\underline{M}$ = 43.00).

Race Attitude. No changes were noted in RA or on the dolls race attitude or self identity. The children remained out-group oriented in all groups.

Relationship between RA and SC. For three groups of children the self-hatred hypothesis was not rejected. Those with high SC scores were out-group oriented. Significant relationships on Thomas SC were found the second year in the boys, one-parent and working-class homes, $\underline{r}$ = .501, $\underline{p} < .01$, $\underline{r}$ = .391, $\underline{p} < .008$, and $\underline{r}$ = .343, $\underline{p} < .05$, respectively. These three groups could be considered the most vulnerable groups within the sample. For the children from the three most "secure" groups, girls, two-parent and middle income families, no such relationship was found (see Table 7), rejecting the view of Black self hatred. Self concept and self-race identity were not related for any of the groups. A relationship between high self concept and out-group orientation was found with four of the groups.

In summary, over one year the children had shown remarkable self-concept increases in the preferred direction, but their racial attitudes had remained out-group oriented. The increase came mainly from improvement in their perception of teacher, peer, and mother ratings. Even though the day care center staff was stable, the children felt their teachers now valued them more highly. Those in what could be considered the more vulnerable groups: boys, and those from one-parent and poorer families, tended to be more out-group oriented when their self value was high. The more secure Black groups in our society (girls, those from two-parent and middle-class families) showed no relationship between self attitudes and racial group acceptance.

Study III - Five Year Follow Up

In the final study the original Mississippi and Michigan children were retested five years later.

Insert Table 10 about here

Changes. Changes in both SC and RA were significant for the combined samples. Self concepts mean scores increased significantly - t (29) = 2.26, $p < .05$ and race attitude dramatically changed in the pro-Black oriented direction t (31) = 6.03, $p < .001$ (see Table 10).

Children in the North had developed significantly more positive self esteems t (22) = 2.46, $p < .05$. This increase accorded in all four reference groups, with a significant change in the peer reference score - t (22) = 2.09, $p < .05$. The Southern sample maintained their high self-esteem scores. The Southern group also moved significantly from a moderate out-group orientation to a score that fell in the chance or no preference range, t (62) = 4.34, $p < .001$.

The Northern racial attitudes moved from a modified white orientation to become markedly more Black-oriented, moving from a mean of 8.50 to one of 4.13, t (23) = 5.21, $p < .001$.

Self-Concept Status. The demographic self concept differences no longer existed upon retesting on the Thomas SC, Engle SC, or Porter self awareness score. The children had positive self concepts on all measures (see Table 11).

Insert Table 11 about here

A two-way analysis of variance was run on the four reference scores of Thomas. The self referent score analysis resulted in no main effect significance of sex or demography. A significant difference on the interactions between sex and demography was present F (1,37) = 18.78, p < .002 (see Table 12). In the South the girls had higher self-concept scores (girls M = 55.50, boys M = 51.82), but the boys were higher in the North (boys M = 59.40, girls M = 49.23).

Insert Table 12 about here

The analysis of the mother as reference scores found a similar demography x sex interaction difference F (1,37) = 5.88, p <.04. Again the girls had higher SC in the South, and the boys were higher in the North. It should be remembered that no such sex differences were found in the original tests. No sex x demography interaction differences were found in the teacher or peer scores for this sample.

Because of the similarity between the two sites on major variables, they were pooled to look for sex differences. None were found on any of the self-concept scores. All tended to feel positive about themselves.

Race Attitude Status. While both groups improved from an out-group to more of an own-group orientation, the Northern children by ten years of age were more Black-oriented than in the South. The Northern children had a greater Black-oriented RA score t (43) = 2.46, p <.02. The analysis of the RA scores on demography by sex was significant only for the demography main effect F (1,36) = 6.48, p <.03. No sex or interaction effects were found (see Table 13). The Northern children were moderately white-oriented while the Southern scores were in the chance range.

Insert Table 13 about here

The Self Portraits were scored using a procedure developed for race content, because the original Porter scoring had no means of picking up racial attitude content, despite its title. A score of zero would indicate no identifiable racial content. These children tended to have several recognizable race-related characteristics in their pictures, unlike Porter's sample in which few racial features were drawn, causing her to drop that feature of her scoring. The Northern and Southern children had similarly high race content, _t_ (42) = 1.24, n.s., indicating a strong identification as Blacks in their self-identity drawings. They identified themselves as being Black by the frequent use of identifiable Black motifs in their drawings of themselves. Their self concepts remained positive, while there was a greater increase in the North to allow them to become on par with the earlier high Southern self concept scores.

Demographic differences were again found on the rankings of the groups "most Americans prefer". Consistent with the more pro-Black race attitude responses, the Northern children ranked Black as more preferred over the other racial groups, significantly higher (.01) than did the Mississippi children. Blacks were ranked highest in Michigan by 60 percent of the children while only a slight preference existed between mean ranks of preferences in the Southern sample.

Relationship of Self-Concept and Racial Attitude. No relationships were found on any measures of SC and RA scores, again supporting the compartmentalization of how the children were able to feel good about themselves, independent of their feelings about their racial group. The only significant relationships found were between the various self-concept tests that were essentially measuring the same concepts (see Table 14).

Insert Table 14 about here

Educational and Occupational Aspirations. Another dimension of self evaluation could be the occupational and educational aspirations held by the child for himself and for the child by significant others (teachers and parents). The Northern data showed no correlation between these educational expectations in terms of the years of schooling that the child is expected to complete. In the South, the educational expectations of parents and teachers were significantly correlated, $r = .580$, $p < .01$. This would indicate a desired match between home and school expectations (see Table 15). In neither site were the child's own expectations related with those held for him by his parents or teachers.

Insert Table 15 about here

The correlationship was made between the obtained education of the parent and how far he expects the child to go. Significant relationship existed in both sites (Michigan $r = .605$ and Mississippi $r = .531$, $p < .02$). The parents with higher educational levels had greater expectations for their children.

And finally, the occupational aspirations of the child, teacher and parent were intercorrelated, using a phi coefficient. Very high agreement was found on occupation goals between the Mississippi parents and children (phi coefficient = .870, $p < .01$). No such relationships were found in Michigan. It would appear that the Southern children were in an environment where there was a greater agreement between the home, school and child than those in the North.

Discussion

These children felt that they were competent and valued individuals, who believed they were perceived positively by their mothers. They felt that they were as highly regarded by their teachers. These findings of positive feelings of self worth would provide data that would cause one to question the commonly held view of a lower value that minority children place upon themselves because of the negative messages communicated to them in the environment. The "self hatred hypothesis" would have to be rejected for these groups based on these findings. Their feelings of self worth were not related to their evaluation of their own ethnic group. In the preschool testing, the Southern children felt better about themselves. Because of their all-Black environment, they were not placed in the position of being reminded of the ethnic group's lowered status position by contact with non-Blacks. Therefore, there may have been a greater sense of security. The Southern children may not have been placed in a defensive posture of protecting themselves from subtle and overt antagonism that is predicated by the general attitudinal preferences for non-Black. The Northern preschool children had not been provided this shelter, but were forced to face the lowered school expectations and other negative experiences that all too often occur in Black/white settings. All groups felt that their teachers had a better evaluation of them upon retesting.

√

One interesting differential sex change occurred. Originally the boys tended to be higher in all three sites. The boys kept their advantage in the North, while in the South and in D.C. the girls' self concept improved markedly. The Northern and urban girls seem to be receiving and internalizing positive feedback from their environments and are feeling better about themselves, while in the North, boys were being reinforced. Could it be that the girls are more secure in the all-Black or Southern environment, while the boys are more secure in the integrated urban community? The groups in the urban all-Black preschool that would probably be receiving the most supportive instruction, middle income, girls, and those from two-parent homes, exhibited the greatest increase in self concept. There is a need to examine the environmental reinforcers that appear to be provided differentially to the different groups.

They had a strong sense of their Black membership as shown by the frequent use of Black motifs in their delightful self portraits at the later age. This is consistent with the findings of Bolling and Hassiki (1976) that lack identification items in drawings increase with age. All three groups were moderately white-oriented on the preschool level. They were able to accept the dominant preferences while compartmentalizing their feelings of their individual self worth to feel good about themselves.

The preschool findings supported those of other researchers who found Black children giving fewer white-oriented responses than those found from 1930 through the early 1950s. In contrast, white children, earlier and still, have been found to consistently prefer their own racial group in preschool and middle childhood. The children became more pro-Black by middle childhood.

Only the Northern children ranked Blacks higher than other ethnic groups. While the question asked for society's preference, it can be assumed that they were expressing their own views. The mixed results are consistent with the evaluative responses to the racial picture stories.

The Southern children remained more ambivalent on racial responses, while those in the North gave clearly pro-Black responses. The children had clear assessments of correct racial identification even at the preschool level. The Southern children with very positive self-esteems were also able to correctly identify the pictures by race, especially the Black pictures, while still remaining moderately out-group oriented. These relationships were not found in the Northern urban setting where the race identity accuracy was much lower. The preschool children in the all-Black setting appeared to have become more keenly aware of racial differences as they developed positive feelings of self worth. The Southern children may have been developmentally advanced in their racial self identification; however, by the end of the five years the Northern children moved to become more like the Southern children on all measures.

These findings indicate that Black children develop more positive attitudes toward their own group over a period of time. The more supportive environmental changes that had occurred over the five years have increased the developmental changes and have resulted in these children being able to place a positive evaluation on their own ethnic group.

Table 1

Summary Table of Three-way Analysis of Variance of Thomas Self-Concept Scores According to Demography, Sex, and Family Type of Children

Source	df	Modified Scoring MS	F
Demography (A)	1	610.77	9.31*
Sex (B)	1	188.80	2.88
Family (C)	1	1.67	0.03
A x B	1	29.46	0.45
A x C	1	243.11	3.71
B x C	1	16.81	0.26
A x B x C	1	567.48	8.65*
Error	70	65.61	
Total	77		

*$p < .01$

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations of Thomas Self Concept Test for Total Sample and Subgroups

Group	n	M	SD
Total	78	47.84	9.37
Northern	35	46.63	10.16
Southern	43	51.42	7.43
Boys	36	51.66	8.19
Girls	42	47.49	9.42
Two-parent	48	48.94	9.20
One-parent	30	49.83	8.85
Northern			
Boys	16	50.69	8.65
Girls	19	43.21	10.28
Southern			
Boys	20	52.29	7.80
Girls	23	50.91	7.31
Two-parent			
Boys	23	51.17	7.57
Girls	25	46.33	10.18
One-parent			
Boys	13	32.46	9.22
Girls	17	47.94	8.34
Northern			
Two-parent	23	47.78	10.72
Boys	12	53.25	7.03
Girls	11	41.82	11.12
Northern			
One-parent	12	44.23	8.64
Boys	4	43.00	9.38
Girls	8	45.18	9.37
Southern			
Two-parent	25	50.28	7.66
Boys	11	49.08	7.80
Girls	14	50.71	7.79
Southern			
One-parent	18	53.65	6.63
Boys	9	56.56	5.73
Girls	8	51.25	6.88

Table 3

Repeated Analysis of Variance of Thomas Self Concept Score for Demographic Effects with Five Replications (Total, Self, Mother, Teacher, and Peers)

Source	df	MS	F
Between	77	294.81	
Groups (N & S)	1	1901.97	6.95**
Errors	76	273.66	
Within	312	35.99	
Replications	4	233.37	7.08***
G x R	4	68.72	2.08*
Error (R)	304	32.96	
Total	389	87.22	

$^{*}p < .08$
$^{**}p < .009$
$^{***}p < .0001$

Table 4

Means and F Test of Differences Between Means of North, South, and Boys, Girls on Four Reference Groups (Self, Mother, Teacher, Peers) on Thomas Self-Concept Test

Reference Group	Total	Northern	Southern	F Ratio	Boys	Girls	F Ratio
Self	51.27	50.23	52.12	1.83	52.40	50.47	1.64
Mother	50.09	48.23	51.60	2.50	51.51	48.79	1.82
Teacher	46.94	43.17	50.00	7.37**	48.71	45.37	1.79
Peers	47.85	44.91	50.23	6.73*	49.51	46.79	1.23
_n_	78	35	43		36	42	

* $p < .05$ 1,77 _df_
** $p < .01$ 1,77 _df_

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations of PRAM
Race Attitude Scores for Total and Subgroups

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*
Total	78	8.79	2.85
Boys	36	8.89	2.62
Girls	42	8.71	3.06
Northern	35	8.71	3.22
Southern	43	8.86	2.53
Northern			
Boys	16	8.94	3.13
Girls	19	8.53	3.37
Southern			
Boys	20	8.85	2.21
Girls	23	8.87	2.83

Table 6

Intercorrelation of Self-Concept, Race Attitudes and Race Identification Scores

Variables	T	N	S	B	G	I	NI	NB	NG	SB	SG
Race Attitude:											
Thomas Self-Concept	.196	.080	.355*	.310	.109	.404**	-.041	.141	.043	.534*	.203
Race Identification	.090	-.021	.280	.330*	-.088	.367**	-.307	.381	-.343	.364	.233
Thomas Self-Concept:											
Race Identification	.087	-.236	.555**	.276	-.043	.100	.036	.103	-.524*	.712**	.461

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

Note

T	total	NI	one-parent
N	North	NB	Northern boys
S	South	NG	Northern girls
B	boys	SB	Southern boys
G	girls	SG	Southern girls
I	two-parent		

Table 7

Significant Intercorrelations of Thomas Self-Concept Tests with Racial Attitude Measures

	DC I			DC II		
Thomas Self-Concept Intercorrelations	Group [a]	r	p	Group	r	p
PRAM II Race Att.		No significant relationship		Boys	.501	.01
				One-parent	.391	.008
				WC SES	.343	.05
Clark:						
Dolls Race Att.	Girls	-.591	.01	Boys	-.358	.03
	Two-parent	-.593	.04	Girls	-.414	.04
				WC SES	-.319	.05
				One-parent	-.336	.03
Dolls Self Id.	All Groups	No significant relationship			No significant relationship	
Dolls Race Pref.	Girls	-.556	.02	Boys	-.337	.04
	Two-parent	-.596	.04			
	MC SES	-.588	.05			

[a] All other sex, family, or SES groups not listed had non-significant relationships.

Table 8

Means, Standard Deviations, and t-Tests for Total Group on Major Variables, DC I and II

	DC I		DC II			
Variables	M	SD	M	SD	df	t
Thomas Self-Concept (Total)	44.18	9.87	49.38	10.77	54	3.05**
Thomas Self-Concept Reference Groups						
Self	49.07	6.99	50.82	7.09	54	1.33
Mother	47.64	10.36	51.58	10.07	54	2.23*
Teacher	40.05	10.59	47.16	12.97	54	3.43**
Peer	41.36	10.06	48.02	10.06	54	3.80**
Engle Self-Concept	28.69	4.56	27.85	6.16	54	0.90
PRAM-Race Attitudes	8.45	2.08	8.56	2.90	54	0.22
Dolls Race Preference	2.53	2.32	2.47	2.66	54	0.12

n=55

$^{*}p < .05$
$^{**}p < .01$

Table 9

Means, Standard Deviations and *t*-Tests of Self Concept Measures by Socio-Economic Status, Sex, and Family Type

Sample Group		*N*	Thomas			*N*	Engle		
			Mean	*SD*	*t*		*Mean*	*SD*	*t*
DC I	Boys	31	45.87	10.23	1.67	31	28.48	4.91	1.06
	Girls	24	41.58	8.77		24	29.79	4.22	
	Two-parent	14	47.14	6.64	1.58	14	29.29	4.29	0.23
	One-parent	38	43.37	9.77		38	28.97	4.37	
	Middle SES	15	46.87	6.50	1.57	15	29.33	4.37	0.33
	WorkingSES	36	43.17	9.96		36	28.89	4.38	
DC II	Boys	31	50.81	9.23	1.12	31	28.87	5.94	1.39
	Girls	24	47.42	12.47		24	26.54	6.31	
	Two-parent	14	54.07	8.70	2.28*	14	31.86	5.71	3.02*
	One-parent	38	47.11	10.93		38	26.45	5.76	
	Middle SES	15	54.40	8.31	2.69**	15	30.40	6.31	1.84
	WorkingSES	36	46.78	11.10		36	26.89	6.00	

* *p* .05
***p* .01

Table 10

Means, Standard Deviations, and *t*-Tests for Thomas Self Concept Scores and Reference Groups

		Pre			Post			
Variables	*n*	*M*	*SD*		*M*	*SD*	*df*	*t*
				Combined Mississippi and Michigan Groups				
Thomas SC Total	30	46.60	9.65		51.10	9.56	29	2.26*
Reference Scores								
Self	30	50.00	6.90		52.90	5.48	29	1.80
Mother	31	48.39	10.65		53.16	7.07	30	2.54
Teacher	30	43.50	12.87		47.93	13.73	29	1.42
Peer	30	44.80	11.85		49.23	11.02	29	1.87
PRAM-Race Attitudes	32	8.59	2.76		4.50	2.33	31	6.03**
				Michigan Follow Up				
Thomas SC Total	23	46.43	10.49		51.78	7.99	22	2.46*
Reference Scores								
Self	23	50.83	7.24		52.78	6.04	22	1.00
Mother	24	48.96	11.09		52.42	7.29	23	1.64
Teacher	23	41.87	13.50		49.22	11.31	22	2.01
Peer	23	44.43	12.38		50.48	8.88	22	2.09*
PRAM-Race Attitudes	24	8.50	3.02		4.13	2.42	23	5.21***
				Total Mississippi Test Group				
				n[a]				
Thomas SC Total	43	51.42	7.43	19	51.74	10.09	60	0.14
Reference Scores								
Self	43	51.70	6.38	19	53.37	4.27	60	1.04
Mother	43	51.60	7.89	19	54.26	5.53	60	1.33
Teacher	43	50.00	8.55	19	49.58	13.28	60	0.15
Peer	43	50.23	6.46	19	48.89	12.38	60	0.56
PRAM-Race Attitudes	43	8.91	2.56	21	5.95	2.54	62	4.34***

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[a] Total Mississippi group combines the 8 original and 13 cohort groups.

*p .05
**p .01
***p .001

Table 11

Means, Standard Deviations, and *t*-Tests of Major Variables on Post Michigan and Mississippi Sample

Variables	Michigan *N*	Michigan *M*	Michigan *SD*	Mississippi *N*	Mississippi *M*	Mississippi *SD*	*df*	*t*
Thomas Self Concept	23	51.78	7.99	19	51.74	10.09	40	0.02
Reference Scores								
Self	23	52.78	6.04	19	53.37	4.27	40	0.37
Mother	24	52.42	7.30	19	54.26	5.54	41	0.94
Teacher	23	49.22	11.31	19	49.58	13.28	40	0.09
Peer	23	50.48	8.88	19	48.89	12.38	40	0.47
Engle Self Concept	24	31.29	3.71	20	30.70	4.04	42	0.50
Pierce Harris SC	24	63.13	9.57	21	65.43	8.77	43	0.84
PRAM-Race Attitudes	24	4.13	2.42	21	5.95	2.54	43	2.46*
Porter Self Awareness	23	9.83	1.83	21	9.55	1.60	42	0.24
Circle Test	24	8.29	1.85	21	7.33	1.98	43	1.68

*$p < .02$

Table 12

Summary Table of Mean Scores by Sex and Two-way Analysis of Variance of Thomas Self Concept According to Demography and Sex

Source	Sum of Square	df	Mean Square	F
Self Reference SC				
Main Effect	77.43	2		
Sex	71.27	1	71.27	3.82
Demography	1.03	1	1.03	0.06
Sex x Demography	350.30	1	350.30	18.78*
Residual	690.16	37	27.95	
Total	1117.90	40		
Mother Reference SC				
Main Effect	112.23	2		
Sex	78.88	1	78.88	2.00
Demography	17.53	1	17.53	0.45
Sex x Demography	231.42	1	231.42	5.88**
Residual	1456.84	37	39.37	
Total	1800.48	40	45.01	

Mean Scores

		Boys	Girls
Self as Reference SC	Michigan	59.40	49.23
	Mississippi	51.82	55.50
Mother as Reference SC	Michigan	56.50	49.50
	Mississippi	53.27	55.63

---

*$p < .002$
**$p < .04$

Table 13

Intercorrelction of Education Expectation for the Children with Parental Education Level and Expectations for Him of Significant Others

Group	Education Expected Parents	 Teachers
Michigan		
Parents		
Teachers	.151	
Children	.508	.365
Mississippi		
Parents		
Teachers	.580**	
Children	.402	.486
	Parental Education Achieved and Expected	
Michigan n = 15	.605*	
Mississippi n = 19	.531*	

*p <.02
**p <.01

Table 14

Summary Table of Two-way Analysis of Variance of Race Attitude According to Demography and Sex

Source	Sum of Square	df	Mean Square	F
Main Effect	36.43	2		
Sex	0.08	1	0.08	0.02
Demography	36.03	1	36.03	6.48*
Sex x Demography	1.34	1	1.34	0.24
Residual	200.13	36	5.56	
Total	237.90	39		

	RA Means	
	Boys	Girls
Michigan	3.90	4.28
Mississippi	6.09	5.80

*$p < .03$

Table 15

Intercorrelations of Self Concept and Race Attitude Scores on Retesting of Five Year Sample

	Mississippi			Michigan	
	r	No. Pairs	*p*	*r*	No. Pairs
	Self Concept and Race Attitude				
TSC and RA	.102	19	-	-.086	23
Reference Group:					
Self - RA	-.046	19	-	-.269	23
Mother - RA	-.042	19	-	-.183	24
Teacher - RA	.172	19	-	-.116	23
Peer - RA	.109	19	-	.088	23
Porter and RA	.161	21	-	.256	23
			Self Concept Scores		
Porter SC and TSC	-.412	19	.04	-.364	22*
Porter SC and Thomas SC					
Self	-.414	19	.04	-.252	22
Mother	.116	19	-	-.477	23***
Teacher	-.424	19	.035	-.423	19**
Peer	-.358	19	-	-.201	22

*$p < .05$
**$p < .04$
***$p < .01$

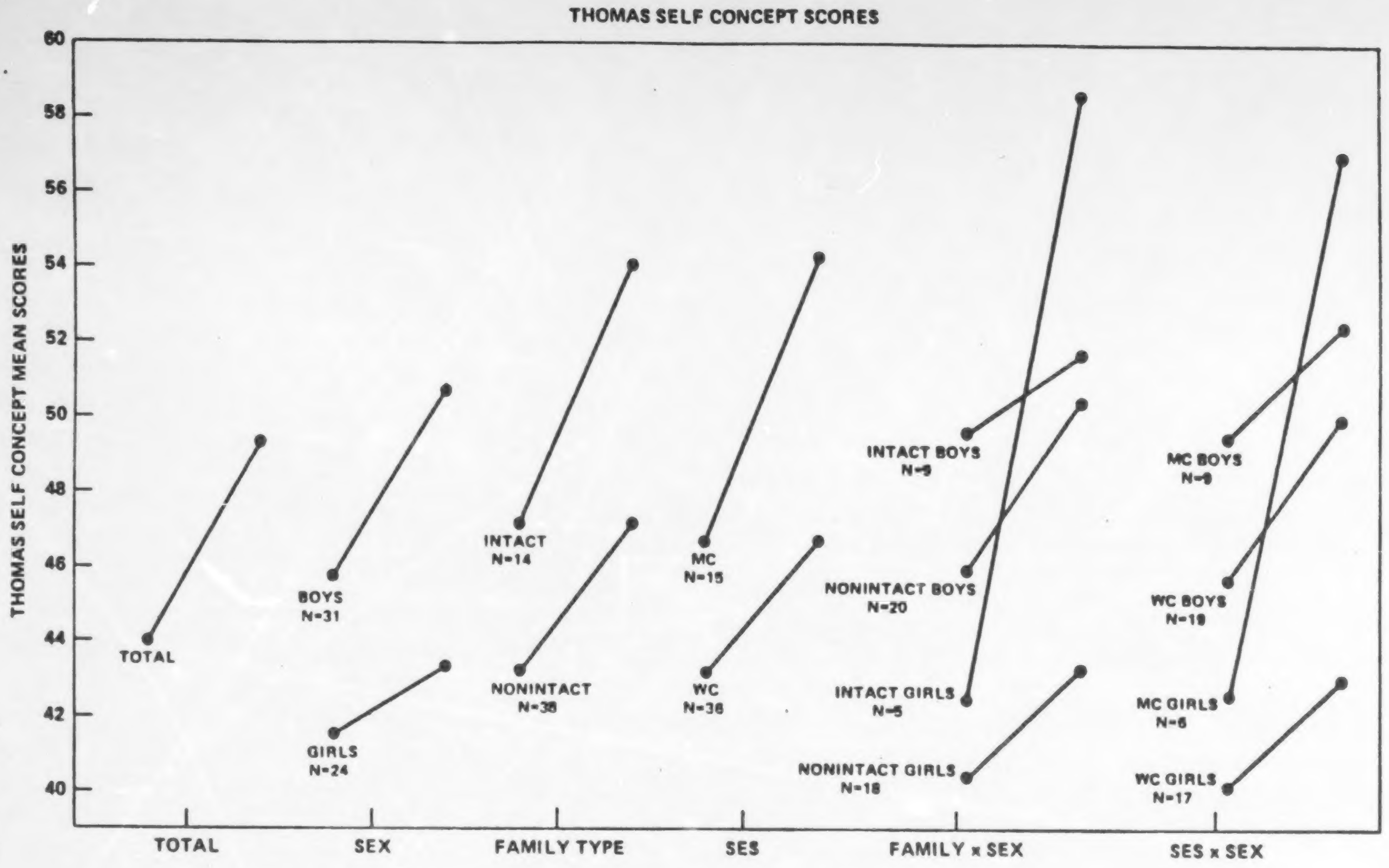

Fig. 2. Mean Thomas Self-Concept Values scores of the follow-up sample in Washington, D.C. for Total group and subgroups.

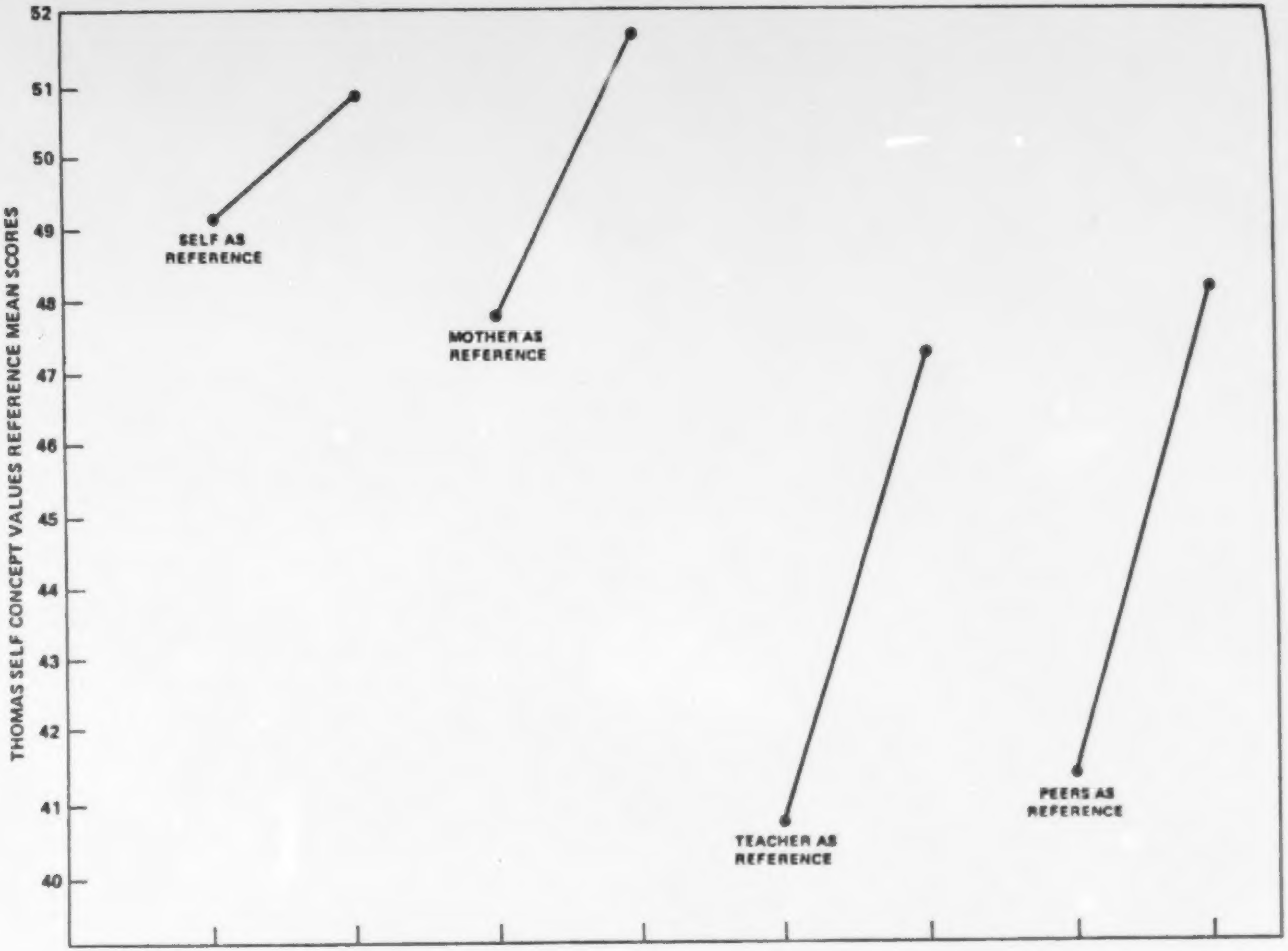

Fig. 3 Thomas Reference groups mean scores: Self, Mother, Teacher and Peers, for DC I and DC II total groups.

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ED148945

The Pittsburgh Project - Part II

Construction of a Black Consciousness Measure

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Presented at the Third Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology

Cornell University October - 1976

UD017657

Construction of a Black Consciousness Measure

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Starting in the early sixties there was an increased amount of socio/political upheaval among Blacks which culminated after the assassination of Martin Luther King. This period 1960-1972, was one in which blacks not only reexamined their historical socio-political status but the resulting psychological effects and consequences as well. While many authors Kardiner (1947), Clark (1947), Pettigrew (1964), and a host of others have written about the psychological effects of oppression and discrimination on Blacks, little has been documented concerning the presumed psychological changes of Blacks following the death of King.

Most of the literature during this Black Power Movement period is of an anecdotal or descriptive nature. The most notable of such literature is the work of Cross (1970) and Thomas (1971). These authors independently theorized that many Blacks underwent rather profound psychological transformations such that negative historical stereotypes concerning Blacks were replaced with presumably more positive and adaptive self-images, self-definitions, and beliefs. Cross (1970, 1971) refers to these transformations as the "Negro to Black Conversion Experience". He posits five stages which Blacks negotiate during the "Conversion Experience". The first stage of Pre-encounter is characterized by Blacks viewing themselves primarily from white definitions. One whose level of consciousness at this stage maintains aspirations that are determined by white values and perceives the black self essentially as a handicap while having an extreme dependence upon white leadership and guidance. There is an unrelenting trust in white standards and a distrust of blacks in general. It is not unlikely that one would rather be called "Negro" than Black. Cross sees black ghetto residents who exploit and prey upon other ghetto residents as being located within this stage also. Such individuals are seen as rationalizing their behavior by relating it to a survival motive. In Cross' second stage of Encounter, he states that the Encounter is at a verbal or mystical level rather than being a more profound intellectual experience. He hypothesizes that the individual is initially thrust into a rather amorphous state of blackness as a result of some incident or situation that bears upon one's integrity as a black. As a result of the encounter, a reinterpretation of one's black existence leads to the third stage of Immersion-Emmersion. Cross speculates that at this point, one is likely to feel guilty for having accepted white definitions of self as well as experience rage for having endured the negative experiences from being black. This period is characterized by one's thrusting oneself into the experience of being black with a high degree of emotionality. The importance of accepting black values and standards is rivaled only by the necessity to reject "whiteness". Frequently, black and white are perceived as antithetical while the individual immerses oneself into numerous political, cultural, and social activities that are identified as relevant for the liberation of blacks. One may join religious or paramilitary organizations that assume a strong stance against whites. Cultural and artistic expressions are interpreted in terms of black or white. Black history is studied and revolutionary theories are espoused. Indeed, this stage may be identified by a black identity based largely upon anti-white sentiments rather than on a positive black identity. Cross hypothesizes however that guilt feelings begin to be replaced by genuine feelings of black pride. The individual begins to be more receptive to an objective critical analysis of the black condition. These changes have the consequence of the individual acquiring more control and awareness of one's previous emotionality with respect to black-white sentiments. The fourth stage in Cross' model is labeled Internalization. Because of the superhuman efforts and expectancies that are perceived as being necessary for the liberation of blacks, there is a tendency for the individual to be inspired to more substantive efforts in the black struggle or to be frustrated to the point of assuming a nihilistic stance toward productive involvement. If one is inspired, one will begin to internalize positive aspects of the Immersion-Emmersion experience into one's identity. One continues to be involved in activities that are seen as relevant to the black cause, though seemingly with more receptivity to new ideas. Cross makes the point, however, that receptivity may be as far as the individual is apt to go. That is to say one is willing to discuss and debate the merits of certain issues and ideas but does not translate these abstractions into practice. Thus, one may become psychologically black but cease to develop or the superhuman expectancies may frustrate one sufficiently such that a nihilistic attitude and resultant regression and or fixation may occur. Cross describes the fifth and final stage of Internalization-Commitment as a continuing process of internalization of positive experiences that were encountered in the previous stages. Simultaneously, there is a lessening of uncontrolled rage towards white people and a felt conscious anger towards oppressive and racist institutions. As the rhetoric of black pride and the unrealistic urgency of liberation subsides, there is an increasing confidence and security in accepting one's black identity. In this stage, one is motivated by pro-black rather than anti-white sentiments. What most distinguishes this stage from the previous stage of Internalization is the commitment to a plan. The individual actively involves oneself in a plan to positively and realistically influence the masses of blacks. Going beyond rhetoric into a positive plan of action is the milestone of this phase. Another characteristic of individuals identified with this stage is their compassion and understanding of individuals who are negotiating the conversion process. Their insights and experiencing of this process enable them to guide others and alert them to the pitfalls of black pride without black skills, and black rhetoric without self-love.

Thomas' model is similar to that of Cross in that he posits a five stage developmental process that blacks negotiate in order to overcome "Negromachy".

a phenomena that is characterized by devalued self-worth and dependence on white society for self definition. He sees Withdrawal as the first movement toward a new black identity. Testifying to the pain endured as a result of being black and expressing one's anxieties about becoming a different black are seen as the second phase of this process. Information Processing with respect to black cultural heritage and new found knowledge regarding the black experience is the next stage. The Activity stage is characterized by the individual being propelled into a host of involvements and endeavors in order to find communion with a larger black experience. Thomas' fifth stage of Transcendal is characterized by individuals being relatively free of conflict regarding issues of race, age, sex, and social class.

Using the hypothetical models of Cross and Thomas, Milliones (1973) examined autobiographical and biographical data on four individuals who were prominent within the Black Power Movement. Such "prototypes" of the Black Power Movement might serve to clarify the conceptual model of Cross-Thomas as well as lend face validity to the same model.

The life of Malcolm X is perhaps the most dramatic example of the Black Consciousness transformation process. His emergence as the chief architect of contemporary Black Consciousness was preceded by at least four relatively distinct transformations in his level of awareness, direction, and acceptance of his identity as a black person. Although the literature does not suggest that Malcolm X was especially accepting and covetous of white values and standards (indeed, his father was a Garveyite and was lynched because of his ardent belief in the necessity of self-determination for the blacks), there is evidence suggesting that he harbored a rather negative self-image (Malcolm X, 1964). This was demonstrated by Malcolm's conking his hair to make it straight. His pre-Muslim days were characterized by a life style of drug peddling, drug use, hustling, burglary, and other anti-social activities that resulted in the exploitation and victimization of other blacks.

His notoriety as a hustler was such that he became known affectionately as "Detroit Red." Malcolm X's attitude and behavior during this period can be seen as demonstrative of an individual functioning at a Pre-encounter level of consciousness. His romanticization of hustling and exploitation of blacks is consistent with Cross' description of a Pre-encounter stage. Malcolm's apprehension and incarceration for burglary just prior to his twenty-first birthday set the stage for his movement into the second stage of Encounter. Although his initial days in prison were characterized by many of the same attitudes and behavior as prior to his arrest, he soon became interested in the religion of Islam as taught by Elijah Muhammad. Gradually, he focused his time and energy on learning the teachings of Elijah Muhammad and began to increase and enrich his vocabulary and knowledge by intense study such that he became an extraordinarily articulate individual. He began to think very seriously about his identity as a black man and to read profusely on the history of blacks both in this country and elsewhere. He further became fascinated with the teachings of Elijah Muhammad and became an avid member of the Nation of Islam as well as a personal student of Mr. Muhammad, with whom he communicated by letter. In his autobiography, Malcolm X speaks of both the guilt and the shame he experienced during the period when he was beginning to discover the Muslims and reevaluate himself as a black person. Upon completion of a seven year prison term he was released, whereupon he went to Detroit and continued his practices as a Muslim. With his newly-found knowledge of himself and his unrelenting commitment to Elijah Muhammad, he soon articulated a perspective that embraced the superiority of blacks over whites and espoused whites as being both "devils" and the true enemies of blacks. His anger and resentment of whites were evident and encompassing. He began to reinterpret social and historical phenomena within a context of black relevancy. A hint that Malcolm X was indeed undergoing a profound emotional transformation (as well as a cognitive change, as demonstrated by his self-education while in prison) is indicated by his analysis of the economic situation for blacks shortly after arriving in Detroit.

> In all my years in the streets. I'd been looking at the exploitation that for the first time I really saw and understood. Now I watched brothers entwining themselves in the economic clutches of the white man who went home every night with another bag of money drained out of the ghetto. (Malcolm X, 1964, p. 193).

One can see how this perception is in direct contrast to his earlier views that blacks were simply prey for those who were willing to exploit them, as he had previously done so well.

After personal training and teaching from Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X was appointed a minister in the Nation of Islam. His effectiveness as Mr. Muhammad's chief spokesman and organizer was unrivaled. He held Mr. Muhammad in the highest of esteem and was rewarded by being dispatched to Boston to organize a mosque. Shortly afterwards, he was sent to Philadelphia and eventually became Minister of the important New York Mosque. It was during this period that he brought the Black Muslims to national attention with his virulent speeches castigating whites for their inhumane treatment and exploitation of blacks. No less were his efforts to exalt blacks to a position of pride, self-determination, and complete independence from whites. Whites were seen as the direct antithesis of blacks, and the only salvation from continued exploitation by whites was being a follower of Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm X's commitment to Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam was such that he would have given his life in their service. His willingness to risk danger and possibly his life was demonstrated by the fact that, while Minister of the New York Mosque, he ordered about fifty Muslims to surround a New York City police precinct while he personally demanded that an injured Muslim be taken from the precinct to a hospital. Not only had Malcolm changed his name from Little to X, but he had become the "patron saint" of the Black Consciousness movement of the 1960's and 1970's (Ebony, August, 1972). His advocation of black separatism, as well as his belief in the inherent depravity of whites, places him well into the Emmersion phase of Cross' developmental scheme.

Just as quickly as Malcolm X had been elevated to be the Nation of Islam's principal spokesman, he was demoted and silenced by Mr. Muhammad, ostensibly for the statement, "...the chickens coming home to roost," in response to a query regarding John F. Kennedy's assassination. This set the stage for Malcolm X's eventual ouster from the Nation of Islam and his subsequent transformations in thinking and feeling regarding race, political ideology, and strategy for the liberation of blacks. Following Cross' hypothesis that progressive changes in both the emotional and the cognitive spheres occur, one can raise the question of what motivated the change. Cross stresses the importance of internal forces such as guilt, shame, rage, and pride. External events, however, may also exert or influence subsequent changes, such as Malcolm X's ouster from the Nation of Islam. At the time he was ostracized, his popularity was unchallenged and his commitment to Elijah Muhammad and the latter's teachings unrivaled. In effect, he showed no evidence of adopting divergent views from the teachings of Elijah Muhammad until his dismissal from the Nation of Islam. The distinction of the effect of internal versus external motivators could be an important one in attempting to clarify the nature of the developmental process of Black Consciousness. After his ouster from Nation of Islam, Malcolm X began to rethink his relationship with Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. Although he had submitted to being silenced, he began to think that his ultimate ouster was the result of Mr. Muhammad's jealousy of his popularity and following. In this light, he began to think of continuing to organize blacks in a way that would be more encompassing than the relatively small Nation of Islam. He began to articulate ideas that were based upon the strengths of blacks, and his indictment of all whites began to cease. Although he still felt that an exclusive black organization was necessary, he was willing to accept white donations, political support, and goodwill. Clearly, he became more tolerant of whites and more in control of his own emotions with respect to black-white issues. His emphasis on black history rather than the mythology of the Black Muslims became obvious. He had emerged to the point of internalizing black values and pride but still felt a necessity to grow and expand his view of himself and the world. The stage is set for Cross' fifth and final stage, *Internalization-Commitment*.

Although Malcolm X had been a Black Muslin and perceived whites as being even biologically incompatible with blacks, many Orthodox Muslims felt he believed himself a true Muslim and offered him a chance to be exposed to Orthodox Islam. With his break from the Black Muslims, the opportunity arose for him to make his important pilgrimage to Mecca. This pilgrimage had a profound effect upon Malcolm X's subsequent thinking. While in Mecca, he wrote a lengthy letter to his assistants in the United States, with instructions that the letter be released to the press. The following are several quotes from this revealing letter, which appeared in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*: "We were truly all the same (brothers) -- because their belief in one God had removed the 'white' from their minds, the 'white' from their *behavior*, and the 'white' from their *attitude*." (Malcolm's use of white in this context refers to attitudes.) He goes on: "I have never before seen *sincere* and *true* brotherhood practiced by all colors together, irrespective of their color." (Malcolm X, 1964, p. 340) Clearly this is a different Malcolm from his earlier speeches on "blue-eyed devils" and prophecies of impending doom for all whites.

Upon his return to the United States, Malcolm X organized the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which was a exclusive black organization but with aspirations of including many more blacks regardless of religious belief. There was no question, however, of his newly-found belief in Orthodox Islam. He was now known as El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. His tolerance and acceptance of other blacks were evident as he openly sought to bring them together in a working relationship. His speeches were decisively void of indictments of other black leaders as he sought a more political relationship with them. He was assassinated on February 21, 1965. The transformations in his life, perhaps more than those of any others, are descriptive of the nature of the hypothesized developmental process of Black Consciousness.

Transformations, somewhat less dramatic, though illustrative of such a process, can be seen from other personalities such as Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), Stokely Carmichael, and H. Rap Brown. Coleman (1970) has sketched the transformations of Baraka through his writings from a young college student at Howard University, not particularly interested in his identity as a black, to his evolution as a cultural, political, artistic, and spiritual giant within the contemporary black struggle. Quoting Coleman:

> Most biographical commentary on Jones' life shows a decided movement away from a white middle class cultural and social arena, located outside the boundaries of the black community, toward the black community and its social and political arenas. It represented a complete psychological and artistic transformation, one in which he gave up his Greenwich Village bohemian existence (Coleman, 1970, p. 18).

This transformation Coleman refers to can, in fact, be seen as a plurality of change occurring over a period of about eighteen years. Baraka's early life after college (where he initially aspired to become a preacher and studied philosophy) saw him joining the air force and later marrying a white woman who gave birth to two children. During this period, Baraka established himself as a talented poet of the beat and bohemian generation.

Baraka's style of writing was significantly influenced by a group of white writers called the "Black Mountain Poets," whose style of writing (projective verse) is characterized by an openness and freedom from formal structures. According to Coleman, however:

> Jones' association with these young white bohemian intellectuals and artists and their stylistic influence on his verse writing did not totally inhibit his identity as a Black artist with Black experience as a subject in his writing. Some of the poems in his first

> published volume, Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note (1961), contain an almost despairing blues attitude, while several others combine sardonic with a spirit of alacrity (Coleman, 1970 p. 19).

In his second volume, Dead Lecturer (1964), Baraka writes about the black experience:

> ....delivering very powerful social and cultural directives which range from an analysis of the Blues to an innovative critique of the stereotyped darky entertainer in 'Poem for Willie Best' (Coleman, 1970, p. 19).

Baraka's Blues People (1963) is a sensitive analysis of the black man's position and status in the social and cultural fabric in America. His book Home (1966), a collection of social essays, is descriptive of the years between 1960 and 1965 and shows a chronological sequence of this development. The earliest written of these essays, "Cuba Libre," is a description of his trip to Cuba in 1960 with a number of other literary and political figures. This was shortly after Castro's rise to power. "Cuba Libre" is noticeably descriptive and rather apolitical. Harold Cruse, the noted black literary critic, who also made the Cuba trip, said of Baraka during this time:

> At the time Jones appeared very quiet, unassuming, reticent, even meek -- although curious about everything ...he was just another addition to the Black intellectual scene of Greenwich Village -- and rather late at that. His name became linked with that of Jack Kerouac, and he soon began to make his name as a beat poet of talent (Cruse, 1967, p.355).

By 1961 and 1962, Baraka had begun to display some of his anger and resentment towards white liberals, as demonstrated by his two essays, "Letter to Jules Feiffer" and "Tokenism." In both essays he castigates liberals for being paternalistic and hypocritical. By this time, he had also separated from his children and wife, Hettie Cohen, whom he had earlier written about in a somewhat hopeless and foreboding manner. In conjunction with this maligning of

America in general and white liberals in particular, in 1962 Baraka wrote the essay "Black Is a Country," in which he defends the concept of nationalism and proposes that blacks begin to think in terms of black nationalism.

In 1963 and 1964, his writings were beginning to reflect more black content and themes. He criticized black middle class writers for their preoccupation and defense of white middle class values in his essay, "Myth of Negro Literature" (1962). Baraka's Blues People, as mentioned above, was written during this period. His play, the Dutchman (1964), was a powerful one-act play with violent and shocking racial overtones. This play won him the Obie award for the best off-Broadway production for 1963-64.

It was in 1965 that his artistic and literary transformations from a bohemian, interracialist, avant-garde poet, culminated in his founding of the Black Arts Repertory Theater and School in Harlem. His ideological shift had finally taken the form of black cultural nationalism. Cruse (1967) describes his own personal reaction regarding Baraka's metamorphosis:

> Jones has come so far and so fast since 1961 and in the meantime has been so contradictory. that it is difficult to place him. In 1961 after my own personal ideological tussel with the Jones-Shepp-Hicks contingent in Harlem, no one could have made me believe that in 1965 LeRoi Jones would start a Blacks Arts Repertory Theatre and School in Harlem. But he did -- in itself amazing, because Jones is not a ghetto product. Any of my personal early misgivings about Jones grew out of my critical responses to his different poses and postures. As it turns out these Jonesian posturings have not been all upstage antics, but rather the ambivalence of the supreme actor brazenly in search of just the right role that would best suit the purposes of the real man inside Jones. (p. 538).

In the late sixties, Baraka was strongly influenced by Maulana Ron Karenga, a west coast cultural nationalist and founder of the black cultural nationalist organization, US. While the basis of Karenga's philosophy was cultural nationalism, (blacks can only gain self-determination through adopting an African value system and rejecting the culture of Westerners), the operational terms of this philosophy can be found in the Nguzo Saba (Swahili for seven principles). These seven principles are Unity, Self-Determination, Collective Work and Responsibility, Cooperative Economics, Purpose, Creativity, and Faith. Since Karenga's arrest and incarceration in 1970, Baraka has been the chief spokesman of Karenga's philosophy. The magnitude of Baraka's political involvement can be seen by the fact that he is presently Program Director of the Congress of African People.

Unquestionably, Baraka demonstrated a myriad of changes, contradictions, and paradoxes during his identity struggle, both as a writer and as a black. The major and most significant shifts in Baraka's life, however, seem to correlate appreciably with Cross' developmental notion of Black Consciousness. Baraka's identification with white bohemian poets and his choice of a white wife seem to indicate an assimilation of white standards and aspirations to the extent that this would be characteristic of a Pre-encounter process. His movement into the Encounter phase can be seen by his gradual dissociation from middle class circles into the black community. This transformation can be seen more saliently by the separation from his wife, the content and style of his writing, and his physical move from Greenwich Village to Harlem. His founding of the Black Arts Repertory Theater and School in Harlem, as well as his anti-white stance (Cruse, 1967), is indicative of Cross' stage of Immersion-Emersion. Baraka's decision to change his name seems additional evidence that he rejected one identity for another. Baraka's commitment to the Nguzo Saba, the Seven Principles indicative of an African world view and value system, clearly seems to be at least an attempt at Internalizing values that are seen to be more meaningful to blacks. The fifth stage of Internalization-Commitment best describes Baraka presently. While he spends much less time maligning whites, he is intensely involved in organizing a black political party, as well as articulating a black value system that will meet the needs of blacks. His willingness to work with less "conscious" blacks in the interest of a black national political party, indicates his commitment to a plan that goes beyond rhetoric, or change for a few, rather than the masses of black people. While one may be able to situate Baraka along Cross' evolutionary notion of Black Consciousness, the nature and complexity of Baraka's transformations do not permit categorical juxtaposition. Baraka's development raises an important question concerning Cross' hypothesis; namely, the possibility of simultaneous occurrences of behaviors or attitudes that are characteristic of two different stages. Witness Baraka's marriage to a white and his anti-white-liberal essays (albeit, this discrepancy was eventually resolved by Baraka). It would appear that more thought and clarity are needed, specifically regarding actual transition or stage interfacing. In this light, grossly discrepant or contradictory behavior may be seen as a signal for a shift to a succeeding stage.

Other individuals whose development seems to reflect a process similar to Cross' conceptualization are Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. Both were very active in the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and both became chairman of the same organization. In his pre-college years, Carmichael sought to become a bona fide member of a Bronx white community, as he was the sole member of a white gang and dated white girls (Moritz, 1970). He was moved to indignation by the brutalization of black students at sit-in demonstrations in South Carolina, and he began to picket with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). From his involvement with CORE, he accelerated his activity to later become a field organizer with SNCC, which culminated in his becoming chairman of the same organization in 1966. Traditionally, SNCC had been identified as an integrated civil rights organization. Although SNCC's membership consisted mainly of student activists, its philosophy was one of nonviolence. In 1966, however, SNCC altered this stance to one of "black power" by any means necessary. Concomitant with this position was the ejection of white members from the organization. This change in ideological posture was articulated by Stokely Carmichael at his famous speech in Condon, Mississippi, where he coined the phrase "Black Power" (1966). In addition to an emphasis on self-determination, frequent anti-white sentiments were expressed by SNCC members; and Carmichael, as Chariman, was the chief spokesman for such sentiments. During the period 1966-68, he made numerous speeches, as well as radio and television appearances, in which he espoused more militant strategies in the struggle for black liberation. His maligning of whites was as evident as his embracing of black pride and values. In 1967, Carmichael resigned as Chairman of SNCC but continued to make speeches in its behalf. He later severed his relationship with the Black Panthers because they wanted alliances with white radical groups. Carmichael then married Mariam Mekeba, a South African singer. He went into self-exile in Guinea in 1969, where he became a personal student of Kwame Nkrumah, the former premier of Ghana. Little was heard from Carmichael until October of 1972 when he made a speech at Harvard University. In this speech, he insisted that there was no difference between the two 1972 presidential candidates because both were in support of a capitalistic system that is oppressive in relation to the masses of people. Carmichael called for the destruction of capitalism in favor of a more socialistic form of government.

One can see the developmental transformations of Carmichael that seem to parallel Cross' notion of conversion. In his pre-civil rights days, Carmichael seemed to identify with whites to a large extent, in that he belonged to a white gang and dated white girls. This Pre-encounter period was followed by his becoming quite moved as he observed black southern students being brutalized at a sit-in demonstration. After this incident, he began to picket with the Congress of Racial Equality. This involvement was followed by his joining SNCC, which at the time was both integrated and nonviolent. This philosophy was, however, rejected; and Carmichael became the spokesman for a more militant anti-white position. These periods in Carmichael's development seem to approximate Cross' Encounter and

Immersion-Emersion stages, respectively. His self-exile in Africa, marriage to an African, and personal study with Kwame Nkrumah seem to be demonstrative of the fourth stage, Internalization, whereby the search for and consolidation of positive black values seem to come about. His speech at Harvard in 1972, where he called on all people to strive toward a socialistic system as a means of combating oppression and capitalism, is indicative of a further ideological transformation similar to Cross' concept of Internalization-Commitment, which emphasizes definite plan of action and strategies toward liberation.

Although Carmichael's development seems generally to fit the Negro to Black conversion model, several questions of theoretical importance can be raised. For instance, after Carmichael observed blacks being brutalized, he was motivated to join a civil rights organization. Was this an example of Cross' Encounter phase or did it emerge later when Carmichael began to voice anti-white sentiments after a long period of civil rights work in the South. The critical question here is whether an Encounter experience is always followed by the expression of anti-white feelings. Another question of importance, though perhaps not as critical, concerns the period of time one experiences a particular developmental phase. As previously queried, can such periods be influenced by external events?

Another individual whose development was in some respects similar to that of Carmichael is H. Rap Brown. Like Carmichael, Brown worked for a number of years in the South as a civil rights worker. Though Brown was initially an integrationist, as he worked with SNCC his views changed, as SNCC's did, to more anti-white and black-oriented position (Brown, 1969). He became Chairman of SNCC upon Carmichael's resignation and became a fiery spokesman, expressing anti-white attitudes and maligning whites in general. These seemingly Pre-encounter, Encounter, and Immersion-Emersion phenomena are less clear than in previously mentioned personalities; however, one can speculate that as SNCC's views changed from an emphasis on integration to one of militancy and black power, Brown's views changed likewise.

SNCC's philosophy of excluding whites as members was seemingly a gradual process that resulted from disenchantment with the progress made by blacks. Many blacks in SNCC perceived whites as obstacles with respect to black self-determination. Brown became quite noted for his anti-white speeches, as well as his encouraging blacks to use violence (if necessary) to obtain their goals. Although it is unclear as to the nature of the change, he subsequently has adopted a less racially-oriented stance and now views socialism, with the overthrow of capitalism, as a means of black liberation.

Using the Cross-Thomas model and autobiographical-biographical data Milliones (1973), formulated the following stages of Black Consciousness development:

A. Preconscious Stage - is descriptive of individuals not engaged in the process of conversion to black. Individuals in this stage are characteristically antagonistic towards the notion and or glorify the exploitation of blacks. They exhibit a high degree of Nadanolitization, the internalization of white racialistic stereotypes in relation to blacks (Taylor, 1971).

B. Confrontation Stage - characterizes individuals who have begun the conversion to black process and who display strong anti-white sentiments. Characteristically, there is an extreme dichotomization of black-white attitudes such that black is seen as positive and good whereas white is perceived as negative and evil. These individuals also espouse militant rhetoric and are generally emotionally intense in their reactions regarding racial issues.

C. Internalization Stage - individuals in this stage have begun to incorporate positive values that relate to the black experience while there is a diminution in anti-white sentiments. Such individuals, however, seem comfortable with just being "Black and Beautiful" and do not draw up this experience as a source for further understanding of the black condition. Although such individuals do not appear to be motivated to malign whites. "Black is Beautiful" becomes an end in itself.

D. Integration Stage - this stage is indicative of individuals who seemingly have incorporated adaptive aspects of the preceeding stage of Black Consciousness development. Such individuals are committed to a plan of action aimed at the eradication of oppression and dehumanization with respect to people. They possess tolerant and empathic attitudes toward those who are functioning in a less adaptive manner in relation to racism and oppression. These individuals appear to have integrated the emotional and cognitive components of their experiences (personalities) in such a way that they can genuinely assert their energies toward the continued growth and liberation of themselves and others.

Conceptualization of these four sub-domains of Black Consciousness permits the writing of items that are representative of each sub-domain. What follows is a description of the construction of the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness (DIBC).

Methodology

A. Subjects

Subjects used in this research consisted of 160 black freshman and sophomore males from a southern black college ranging in ages from seventeen to twenty.

B. Instruments

1. Nadanolitization Scale

The Nadanolitization Scale developed by Taylor (1972), is a sixty item instrument designed to measure the degree of internalization by blacks of stereotypic attitudes traditionally assumed by whites in reference to blacks. Thus, the higher blacks score on this test, the higher is their presumed internalization of negative stereotypic attitudes towards other blacks. This instrument was used to explore the construct validity of the DIB-C. The expectation is that Nadanolitization scores will be inversely related to progressive transformation of DIB-C scores.

2. Social Desirability Scale

A twenty-item Social Desirability Scale developed by Jackson (1971) was employed to ascertain the degree of saturation of items with social desirability relative to saturation of items with its own scales.

3. Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness (DIB-C)

Constructing the DIBC entailed writing 160 items for the entire inventory. Forty items were written for each of the four stages of development. Items were devised by the use of a conceptual grid. The rationale for the use of such a grid was to maximize the possibility of writing items that are most representative of each stage. Each item was presumed to be a sample from the population of items what define the domain of a given stage. To account for acquiescence, items were keyed positive and negative on an equal basis.

After the initial writing of all 160 items, they were scrutinized by two independent judges to determine their appropriateness for a given stage. The judges included a black Ph.D. and an advanced black graduate student in clinical psychology. Both judges were familiar with the literature and research relative to Black Consciousness. The judges were given subdomain and domain descriptions for each of the four stages. Consensus among the experimenter and the two judges as the criterion for final selection of each item. Items were eliminated where there was not consensus and others written to replace them, using the same criterion of selection until final agreement was reached.

Design and Analysis of Results

A double cross replicated design was used which split the sample into halves. Four sequential operations were used to evaluate the items of the DIB-C. Items were eliminated when they failed to meet any of the sequentially applied item selection criteria which are now discussed.

A. Item Discrimination

Item discrimination was accomplished by obtaining the total summed scores of each individual on a given scale of the DIB-C. Scores were then generated into a quartile distribution for the purpose of comparing subjects in the first and fourth quartile groups. Mean scores of each item for the first and fourth quartile groups were computed. A test of each of the mean scores between groups was utilized to determine which items significantly differentiated the two groups at the .05 level of confidence.

B. Test of Homogeneity

Items which survived the item discrimination were then subjected to a test of homogeneity. A Pearson correlation was computed to determine the degree of correlation of each item with the scale for which it was written. All items for which the Pearson correlation was below .30 were eliminated.

C. Social Desirability Measure

Items surviving the first two selection criteria were evaluated for their relative saturation with social desirability. A procedure developed by Jackson (1971) was employed as a criterion for eliminating items that are largely contaminated with social desirability.

$$DRI = \sqrt{/r_{ig}^2 \quad r_{idy}^2/}$$

Where DRI = Differential Reliability Index

rig = Pearson Correlation between an item and its own scale score

ridy = Pearson Correlation between an item and the Social Desirability Scale

As can be seen from the DRI, an item's correlation with its own scale score is compared with that same item's correlation with the Social Desirability Scale. Thus, the DRI is a numerical index of each item's saturation with social desirability relative to saturation resulting from its own scale. Items having a DRI value lower than .30 were eliminated from the DIBC.

D. Differential Validity Index

Items surviving the above criteria were then tested for divergent validity (Taylor, 1973). Here the concern is that each item measure more of the stage for which it was written than for the stages for which it was not written. The formula for measuring divergent validity is given by:

$$\mathrm{DVI} = \sqrt{r_{ig}^{2} - r_{ihd}^{2}}$$

Where DVI = Differential Validity Index

r_{ig} = Pearson product moment correlation between an item i and its own scale score g.

r_{ihd} = Average Pearson product moment correlation between an item and the total score from each scale other than g.

After the correlation of an item with its own stage was computed, the calculation of the average correlation with the remaining stages for each item was determined. Items are retained if its DVI is equal to or greater than .30. Testing for statistical significance of the lowest acceptable DVI is given by the formula:

$$t = \frac{z_{ig} - z_{ihd}}{\sqrt{\frac{1}{N_{ig} - 3} + \frac{1}{N_{ihd} - 3}}}$$

z_{ig} = z score transformation of r_{ig}

z_{ihd} = z score transformation of r_{ihd}

N_{ig} = number of correlations associated with z_{ig}

N_{ihd} = number of correlations associated with z_{ihd}

Results

As a consequence of employing the four sequential psychometric strategies of Item Discrimination, Test of Homogeniety, Differential Reliability Index, and the Differential Validity Index, 65 of the original 160 items remained. Table I represents the surviving items as represented by stage. Each item is significant at the .05 level of confidence for each of the above mentioned criterion. The original DIB-C can be found in Appendix A.

Table I

Stage I - Preconscious

Positive Key

1. The "democratic process" is now working for blacks as well as whites.
2. Blacks have obtained better treatment in America than any other country.
3. Blacks should be loyal to this country in every respect.
4. A few militant "Black Power" advocates can make it bad for other blacks.
5. I think there is too much emphasis on "Black Power."
6. There is too much hatred taught by the "Black Power" advocates.
7. Currently, there is too much talk by blacks about white racism.
8. Currently, blacks can also realize the "American dream."
9. Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as Black.
10. I prefer being called "Negro" rather than "Black."
11. Currently blacks can trust whites as much as they can trust other blacks.
12. We are first Americans and then White, Black, or Chinese.
13. To get ahead in this country, all blacks need to do is work hard and get a good education.
14. There has been enough talk and debate by blacks about what direction the black struggle should go.

15. Serving in the military and fighting for their country is a duty of black Americans also.
16. Blacks should be proud of being Americans.

Negative Key

1. America offers little hope for those blacks who are loyal and obey the law of the land.
2. Black pride is an important element in the "Black Struggle" for self-determination.
3. Black people must organize themselves into an effective black political force.
4. The "democratic process" as practiced in America offers little hope for the masses of black people.
5. Individuality is not as important as identifying with the masses of black people.
6. There is much to be gained for blacks if they organize and control their schools.
7. Blacks currently are just as bad off as they were fifty years ago.

Stage II Confrontation

Positive Key

1. As a rule, whites are ethically corrupt.
2. Blacks and whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences.
3. Black Studies is more important for blacks than a traditional American education.
4. I presently feel blacks should strive to learn an African language.
5. It is now evident that black culture is superior to white culture.
6. White people are incapable of loving anyone black.
7. Blacks have shown themselves to be more human than whites.
8. It is important that blacks have separate educational systems apart from whites.
9. White values are destructive for black people.

10. Blacks should not marry whites for the good of the black race.

11. "Uncle Toms" should be punished severely for holding back the "Black Cause."

12. White people can never be trusted where blacks are concerned.

13. Blacks should try to live separately from whites because whites will wrongly influence them.

14. White people are essentially evil.

15. Black Americans should develop their own military system.

16. Whites are sub-human as evidenced by their treatment of blacks.

Negative Key

1. I presently feel whites are as human as blacks.

2. Black women are not the true "Queens of the Universe."

3. Blacks should form coalitions with white groups that support black interests.

4. Black children should not be encouraged to speak "Black English."

5. It is not feasible for black Americans to have their own military system.

6. The moral standards of whites are no worse than those of any other race.

7. "Learning power" is more important for blacks than "Black Power."

8. White people can sometimes be trusted by blacks.

9. Separate educational systems are not essential for blacks.

Stage III - Internalization

Positive Key

1. Wearing African clothes indicates race pride.

2. Blacks can not afford to waste time "educating" those whites who are ignorant about black people.

3. Black people are more humane than whites.

4. It is difficult for me to tolerate blacks who still act like "middle class negroes."

Negative Key

1. Black music is not superior to white music.
2. Someone other than a black person can contribute to black liberation.
3. I see nothing wrong with interracial marriages.
4. Blacks can at times trust white people.

Stage IV - Integration

Positive Key

1. Black people can no longer afford to reject whites because of color alone.
2. I can understand why some blacks are confused about the direction of the Black Struggle.

Negative Key

1. Black people must confine their fight for liberation only to America and Africa.
2. I can not understand an "Uncle Tom."
3. The only issue is racism when we speak of black people's difficulties in America.
4. Blacks who form coalitions with whites are moving in the wrong direction.
5. Conflict among blacks is always an unhealthy sign.
6. White people are naturally opposed to black people.

Construct Validational Study

Table II gives the one-way analysis of variance results for Nadanolitization scores of non-overlapping upper quartile subjects of DIB-C stages. Significance at the .01 level of confidence was obtained for the Total as well as the Racist scores of the Nadanolitization Scale. No significance was found in the Non-Racist scores.

TABLE II

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Total Nadanolitization Scores of Non-Overlapping Upper Quartile DIBC Subjects

Source	SS	Df	MS	f
Between	9467.41	3	3155.81	4.15*
Within	50168.89	66	760.13	
Total	59656.34	69		

*p ≤ .01

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Racist Nadanolitization Scores of Non-Overlapping Upper Quartile DIBC Subjects

Source	SS	Df	MS	f
Between	4602.13	3	1534.04	4.63*
Within	21826.44	66	330.70	
Total	26428.57	69		

*p ≤ .01

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Non-Racist
Nadanolitization Scores of Non-Overlapping
Upper Quartile DIBC Subjects

Source	SS	Df	MS	f
Between	1459.30	3	486.43	ns
Within	11810.18	66	178.94	
Total	13269.48	69		

Table III shows multiple comparison of non-overlapping, upper quartile DIB-C subjects on Nadanolitization Total and Racist f values. Significance at the .05 level between groups I - IV on the Total and significance at the .01 level between groups I-IV on the Racist Scale were found.

TABLE III

Scheffe's Multiple Comparison Test Applied
to Non-Overlapping Upper Quartile DIBC
Subjects and Nadanolitization Scores

Groups	Total f-values	Racist f-values
$Stage_1$ - $Stage_2$	.40	2.96
$Stage_1$ - $Stage_3$	2.37	3.68
$Stage_1$ - $Stage_4$	11.22*	13.83**
$Stage_2$ - $Stage_3$	.74	.028
$Stage_2$ - $Stage_4$	6.71	3.49
$Stage_3$ - $Stage_4$	2.99	2.95

*Scheffe's critical value for p .05 = 8.25

**Scheffe's critical value for p .01 = 12.30

Table IV represents the amount of variance shared between the Nadanolitization Total and Racist Scales and the DIBC Scales. The Omega^2 Estimates are .11 and .13 for the Total and Racist scales respectively.

TABLE IV

Omega^2 Estimates of the Percentage of Shared Variance with the DIBC and the Nadanolitization Scale

Nadanolitization Scale	Omega^2 Estimate
Total	.11
Racist	.13

Discussion

Sequential Item Selection

The four sequential psychometric strategies were used to fulfill logical requirements related to test construction. To be sure, other analytic procedures may have been appropriately employed, however, the particular strategies were selected because of their potential effectiveness in confronting frequently encountered problems in test or inventory construction. What follows is a brief description of the logic and its proceduralization with respect to constructing the DIBC.

A critical psychometric problem that is immediately evident in this study is how to measure, eliminate, and or attenuate non valid variance, i.e. systematic but irrelevant and error variance. In proposing item selection strategies, a component of variance model (Brown, 1970) was used:

$$S^2_T = S^2_V + S^2_I + S^E_E$$

where: S^2_T = variance within the set of obtained scores
S^2_V = valid or relevant variance
S^2_I = systematic but irrelevant variance
S^2_E = error variance

Chronologically, the following operations were performed. 1). A conceptual grid was developed to lend clarity and give refinement to the variance component S^2_V. This was accomplished by a close examination of autobiographical, biographical, and empirical research related to the phenomena of Black Consciousness development. The conceptual grid was then developed to partition the domain of Black Consciousness into four stagewise components and associated subcomponents. Items were then written for each component. 2). To reduce the presence of acquiesence response bias, regarded as S^2_I, items were equally keyed positive and negative. 3). To further reduce S^2_I related to the investigator's preconception about which items are defining of which stage, all items were subjected to two judges who considered the appropriateness of each item for a given stage. Possibly this procedure served not only to reduce S^2_I but S^2_E as well. Consensus in judges then permitted the four sequentially organized psychometric strategies. 4). Items for each stage that significantly differentiated between the first and fourth quartile groups were retained. In effect, this procedure differentiated those high and low in stable and reliable variance components S^2_V and S^2_I. 5). Surviving items were next subjected to a test of Homogeniety with items having a Pearson r of less than .30 being eliminated. This operation served to increase the stable and reliable components of variance through a reduction in S^2_E 6). To further attenuate S^2_I that is a result of socially desirable responding, the Differential Reliability Index (DRI) was used. The DRI provides us with a decision rule for eliminating items that are more saturated with socially desirable responding (S^2_I) than with relevant variance (S^2_V). Items having a DRI of less than .30 were eliminated from further analysis. 7). The final psychometric procedure was the employment of the Differential Validity Index (DVI). This procedure gives us confidence that each item characterizes the stage for which it was written in contrast to characterizing another stage for which it was not written. Hence, the final strategy served to increase S^2_V and decrease S^2_I for each of the four DIBC stages.

Implications for Further Research

Given the primary task of test construction, our attention is now turned to the utility of the DIB-C (its generalizability) and other considerations for future research.

As will be recalled, the subjects used in this study consisted of a sample drawer from a population of black college students between the ages of 17-20 years. These participants were diverse with respect regionality and socio-economic, and all attended a black southern college. Generalizability of the present DIB-C results are limited to the above population and to subsequent and present samples possessing the just enumerated parameters. To extend the generalizability of the DIB-C, normative studies are required. Highly useful within this context could be the employment of a probability sampling procedure which would stratify on relevant parameters such as regionality, urban-rural settings, age, SES, education, occupation, sex, and other variables relative to their representation within the black population. Given the general laxity with which interpretive and conclusive remarks are often made regarding test and inventory results, especially when norming is less than desirable, too much emphasis can not be placed upon obtaining appropriate sampling of critical population parameters.

Despite the normative limitations of this study, there are a number of experimental and conceptual questions that warrant further investigation and clarification.

First, it must be made clear that this study does not validate the Cross - Thomas developmental model of black consciousness. Essentially a genetic or developmental theory has the logical requirement that phenomena (stages) evolve in an invariant sequential order. While there is suggestion that black consciousness transformations may mimic such a model, much more research is needed to argue such a position. The construction of the DIB-C indicates that there are relatively distinct domains of the phenomena of black consciousness, notwithstanding the seemingly developmental posturings of the individuals who were studied biographically. To add clarity to the developmental question, a longitudinal design could be employed. This could permit an examination of the sequential unfolding of the hypothesized stages. It also could permit the study of not only normal progression but clinical phenomena such as developmental accelaration and leaping, regression, and fixation.

Another researchable issue, not entirely separate from the developmental question involves chronological age. We might ask if there is a stage by age patterning. An answer to this question might help to explain why so few items survived in the last two stages -- Internalization and Integration -- of the DIB-C. It might be that such phenomena are manifested or expressed at a chronological age older than the 17-20 year range used in the present study. Such an explanation is at best speculative, but could be explored by use of longitudinal procedures. Similarly, what is the relationship between DIB-C stage phenomena and distinguishable aspects of adolescent identity formation? Are there stages of adolescent identity which retard or potentiate DIBC stagewise phenomena and are there interaction effects between adolescent identity formation and DIBC phenomena. Such questions have potentially rich theoretical and clinical implications.

Given the results of the construct validational study, the relationship between the DIBC profiles and mental health would appear to be a potentially fascinating area of research. Recall that the results showed an inverse linear relationship between progressive DIBC stagewise development and Nadanolitization scores. Such findings suggest that as one becomes more conscious and accepting of his blackness, there is a simultaneous extrusion of internalized white definitions and stereotypes of blacks. Similarly, as one's black identity becomes more acceptable, there is a more objective and rational appraisal of white people. If, in fact, increased Black Consciousness leads to a more human or universal perspective of people, then this process would seem worthwhile investigating.

To explore further potential relationships between DIBC stagewise development and black mental health, it is suggested that the DIBC and a variety of personality constructs be explored. Relating the DIBC to variables such as authoritarianism, locus of control, anxiety, dependency, dominance, aggression, and so on could lead toward the clarification of Black Consciousness and personality phenomena, and the relatedness of both constructs to issues of mental health.

Finally, it would be desirable to inquire into the potential structural similarity that Black Consciousness as a conversion process has with other apparent conversion phenomena. A brief return to the defining attributes of the DIBC stages will serve to advance this proposal. The Pre-conscious Stage is descriptive of individuals not engaged in the process of conversion to Black, who are characteristically antagonistic toward the notion of Black Consciousness and exhibits a high degree of Nadanolitization. Individuals in the second Stage, Confrontation, have begun the "conversion to black" process and express a high degree of anti-white sentiments. Characteristically, there is an extreme dichotomization of attitudes associated with black and white such that black is seen as good and white is perceived as negative and evil. Militancy and emotionality typically are displayed by such individuals. Internalization, as the third Stage, is descriptive of individuals who have begun to incorporate positive conversion. Perhaps such exploration might provide meaningful data with respect to understanding the psychology of conversion as a developmental process.

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APPENDIX A

Original DIB-C

APPENDIX A

Original DIB-C

Enclosed are some statements concerning beliefs, opinions, and attitudes of Black people. They are chosen in such a way that most people are likely to agree with some and disagree with others. For each statement, select one of the following according to what you believe.

(1) if you strongly disagree

(2) if you moderately disagree

(3) if you slightly disagree

(4) if you neither agree or disagree

(5) if you slightly agree

(6) if you moderately agree

(7) if you strongly agree

Example

25. I think blacks should control their own school systems.

If you "strongly agree" with the above statement you would select the numeral (7) from the above scale and record this number by blackening the appropriate blank on the IBM answer sheet. Do Not Mark Your Answers In The Test Booklet.

There are no right or wrong answers, only what is right for you. If in doubt, blacken the space which seems most nearly to express your present feeling about the statement. Work quickly and be sure to answer every item honestly.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1) Strongly disagree	(5) Slightly agree
(2) Moderately disagree	(6) Moderately agree
(3) Slightly disagree	(7) Strongly agree
(4) Neither agree or disagree	

1. Black children should not be encouraged to speak "Black English."

2. "Black is Beautiful" is simply a slogan for blacks to practice racism against whites.

3. The struggle of black people is not confined to America alone.

4. Oppressed people throughout the world should work together when possible.

5. "Thinking Black" is the opposite of "thinking White."

6. The only issue is racism when we speak of black people's difficulties in America.

7. In this country the value systems of blacks and whites are basically the same.

8. I disapprove of black men marrying white women.

9. Being in the presence of whites is often frustrating for me.

10. A traditional education is more important for blacks than Black Studies.

11. Blacks may be able to benefit from studying communistic theory.

12. I presently feel blacks should strive to learn an African language.

13. There is much to be gained for blacks if they organize and control their schools.

14. Black Studies programs can do much in the way of re-educating blacks.

15. I can not understand individuals who feel they are more "black" than other black people.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1) Strongly disagree
(2) Moderately disagree
(3) Slightly disagree
(4) Neither agree or disagree
(5) Slightly agree
(6) Moderately agree
(7) Strongly agree

16. I think there is too much emphasis on "Black Power".

17. Blacks should have the choice to marry interracially.

18. The problem is that racism only effects black people.

19. I have no patience with "Uncle Toms."

20. In spite of the way whites have treated blacks, whites are just as human as blacks.

21. Those blacks who advocate an independent political party are moving in a desirable direction.

22. It is not beneficial to continue to try and educate those blacks who do not want change.

23. Hard work has not advanced the cause of the black American.

24. Black Studies is more important for blacks than traditional American education.

25. Black values should not be inconsistent with human values.

26. Black scholars have to re-educate themselves.

27. American racism must be studies very closely and a specific plan of action adopted to eliminate such racism.

28. Currently there is too much talk and discussion of plans by blacks regarding the Black struggle.

29. Being white or black is only a state of mind.

30. Blacks who do not "talk Black" are unaware.

31. Race hatred of any sort is not productive.

32. I can sympathize with those who have black pride but do not want to involve themselves in acts of liberation.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1) Strongly disagree
(2) Moderately disagree
(3) Slightly disagree
(4) Neither agree or disagree
(5) Slightly agree
(6) Moderately agree
(7) Strongly agree

33. Blacks have obtained better treatment in America than any other country.

34. I prefer being called Black rather than Negro.

35. An African political philosophy may not be appropriate for black Americans.

36. I am currently not in favor of continued debate and discussion about the use of certain white ideas to solve black problems.

37. The cultural accomplishments of white people is presently superior to the black culture.

38. "Green Power" is more important than "Black Power."

39. Black music is not superior to white music.

40. I currently believe America is quite racist.

41. Although the American Indian is oppressed, their problems are completely different from those of black America.

42. It is not the political and economic systems that suppress blacks but the issues of racism.

43. There is little use in blacks thinking they can "make it on their own" in America.

44. I favor black Americans solving their problems in America and letting Africa solve her problems.

45. Black people's values are superior to those of white people.

46. Just feeling "Black is Beautiful" is all that you can ask from black people.

47. Blacks already know enough about racism and oppression, now is the time to act.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1) Strongly disagree
(2) Moderately disagree
(3) Slightly disagree
(4) Neither agree or disagree
(5) Slightly agree
(6) Moderately agree
(7) Strongly agree

48. I can not understand an "Uncle Tom."

49. Blacks should form coalitions with white groups that support black interests.

50. White people can sometimes be trusted by blacks.

51. Presently blacks have no one to blame for their condition but themselves.

52. There is little sense in talking about separate black institutions.

53. "Black Capitalism" can essentially do nothing to advance the cause of black Americans.

54. "Uncle Toms" should be punished severely for holding back the Black Cause.

55. I feel certain about the direction of the Black Movement.

56. Black intellectuals should be thoroughly familiar with the Marxist theory.

57. The "democratic process" is now working for blacks as well as whites.

58. Blacks may profit on some occasions from having white friends.

59. I can understand blacks who are proud but sho no action towards liberation.

60. There has been enough talk and debate by blacks about what direction the black struggle should go.

61. White people are incapable of loving anyone black.

62. Some whites may be very important in the struggle of blacks.

63. Any European analysis of oppression can not apply to the condition of black oppression in America.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1) Strongly disagree
(2) Moderately disagree
(3) Slightly disagree
(4) Neither agree or disagree
(5) Slightly agree
(6) Moderately agree
(7) Strongly agree

64. There are other people who experience racial injustices and indignities similar to black Americans.

65. Whites are subhuman as evidenced by their treatment of blacks.

66. The enslavement of blacks was more or less an historical accident.

67. A thorough knowledge of black history is very important for blacks today.

68. Black history is no more important for blacks than traditional American history.

69. Black Americans should develop their own military system.

70. Black women are more beautiful and attractive than white women.

71. Blacks and whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences.

72. The attainment of "Black Pride" should be a goal for all black Americans.

73. Black women are not the true "Queens of the Universe."

74. Black pride alone will not solve the problems of black people.

75. White people are essentially evil.

76. It is important that blacks have separate educational systems apart from whites.

77. Black people should never trust any other group of people but their own.

78. Contemporary African political systems are inappropriate for black Americans.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1) Strongly disagree	(5) Slightly agree
(2) Moderately disagree	(6) Moderately agree
(3) Slightly disagree	(7) Strongly agree
(4) Neither agree or disagree	

79. I am satisfied with just being black.

80. I presently feel that blacks and whites are the opposite of each other in many ways.

81. As a rule, whites are ethically corrupt.

82. Someone other than a black person can contribute to black liberation.

83. Blacks have shown themselves to be more human than whites.

84. I can no longer tolerate blacks who still have faith in the "American democratic process."

85. Blacks who want to be called "Negroes" may have contributions to make to the 'Black Struggle."

86. Whites have done little to assist blacks in the struggle for self liberation.

87. Blacks who form coalitions with whites are moving in the wrong direction.

88. Separate educational systems are not essential for blacks.

89. Currently, blacks can also realize the "American dream."

90. Black people should feel free to use political systems developed by white western societies.

91. Just being "Black and Proud" will not solve black problems.

92. The political systems of Africa are more suitable for black Americans.

93. Oppression must be viewed scientifically.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1) Strongly disagree
(2) Moderately disagree
(3) Slightly disagree
(4) Neither agree or disagree
(5) Slightly agree
(6) Moderately agree
(7) Strongly agree

94. It is possible for some whites to join in the fight against the oppression of blacks.

95. It is difficult for me to tolerate blacks who still act like "middle class negroes."

96. Blacks need not "study" the "Black experience" since they are black.

97. A major element in black liberation is race pride.

98. White people can never be trusted where blacks are concerned.

99. The economic system of capitalism goes hand in hand with racism.

100. Serving for the military and fighting for their country is a duty of black Americans also.

101. A am still often suspicious of whites.

102. Some black people can be as "racist minded" as white people.

103. We are first Americans and then White, Black, or Chinese.

104. Oppressive African systems are no different in the end than oppressive American systems.

105. Black people must organize themselves into an effective black political force.

106. It is now evident that the black culture is superior to white culture.

107. Black artists do not express more humanity in their works than white artists.

108. Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as black.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1) Strongly disagree
(2) Moderately disagree
(3) Slightly disagree
(4) Neither agree or disagree
(5) Slightly agree
(6) Moderately agree
(7) Strongly agree

109. Black people are more humane than whites.

110. Currently blacks can trust whites as much as they can trust other blacks.

111. Black intellectuals have debated too much about issues in the Black struggle.

112. There is too much race hatred taught by the "Black Power" advocates.

113. Blacks should be loyal to this country in every respect.

114. The moral standards of whites are no worse than those of any other race.

115. Christianity has done little to improve the condition of black Americans.

116. The "democratic process" as practiced in America offers little hope for the masses of black people.

117. Black people can no longer afford to reject whites because of color alone.

118. Blacks should not marry whites for the good of the black race.

119. Whites are superior intellectually to black Americans.

120. Currently there is too much talk by blacks about white racism.

121. Blacks can at times trust white people.

122. I can understand why some blacks are confused about the direction of the "Black Struggle."

123. Wearing African clothes indicates race pride.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1)	Strongly disagree	(5)	Slightly agree
(2)	Moderately disagree	(6)	Moderately agree
(3)	Slightly disagree	(7)	Strongly agree
(4)	Neither agree or disagree		

124. There is a great deal of merit in having black policemen for black communities.

125. Having a specific plan of action is necessary if black are to deal with oppression.

126. To get ahead in this country, all blacks need to do is work hard and get a good education.

127. Where black people are concerned, there is not enough emphasis placed on race pride.

128. It may be useless for aware blacks to continue to help blacks who don't want to change.

129. White values are destructive for black people.

130. It is disturbing to see blacks disagreeing.

131. "Black Capitalism" is a useful idea for blacks to adopt in their struggle for liberation.

132. Defining the "Black Struggle" solely in racial terms may prove non-productive.

133. Blacks should try to live separately from whites because whites will wrongly influence them.

134. Black superiority in any way is a "myth."

135. Black pride is necessary if blacks are to progress.

136. I can understand why some "Negroes" are fearful of becoming "Black."

137. It is not feasible for black Americans to have their own military system.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1) Strongly disagree	(5) Slightly agree
(2) Moderately disagree	(6) Moderately agree
(3) Slightly disagree	(7) Strongly agree
(4) Neither agree or disagree	

138. Individuality is not as important as identifying with the masses of black people.

139. Blacks should never consider communistic principles in solving their problems in America.

140. A few militant "Black Power" advocates can make it bad for other blacks.

141. Black Americans should strive more for "black identity" rather than "Black capitalism."

142. "Learning power" is more important for blacks than "Black Power."

143. I see nothing wrong with interracial marriages.

144. Blacks currently are just as bad off as they were 50 years ago.

145. I presently believe that blacks need to be more concerned about a "Black education."

146. Black people must confine their fight for liberation only to America and Africa.

147. I presently feel whites are as human as blacks.

148. White people are naturally opposed to black people.

149. Wearing an "Afro" indicates some sense of pride.

150. Blacks should be proud of being Americans.

151. Conflict among blacks is always an unhealthy sign.

152. The principles of socialism should be looked at closely by blacks for a possible economic system of use.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

(1) Strongly disagree
(2) Moderately disagree
(3) Slightly disagree
(4) Neither agree or disagree
(5) Slightly agree
(6) Moderately agree
(7) Strongly agree

153. I prefer being called "Negro" rather than "Black."

154. Black values are no different than white values.

155. Race has much to do with one's advancement in America today.

156. Black pride is an important element in the "Black Struggle" for self-determination.

157. Blacks can not afford to waste time "educating" those whites who are ignorant about black people.

158. The struggle for black liberation in America should be closely related to other non-Black or African liberation struggles.

159. America offers little hope for those blacks who are loyal and obey the law of the land.

160. Blacks should stop debating about the "Black struggle" for it serves no purpose.

ED148946

Reference Groups for Female Attractiveness Among Black and White College Females

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Presented at the Third Conference On Empirical Research In Black Psychology

Cornell University October - 1976

UD017658

REFERENCE GROUPS FOR FEMALE ATTRACTIVENESS AMONG BLACK AND WHITE COLLEGE FEMALES

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One of the important functions of a reference group is a source of comparison which a person may use in making evaluations and judgments about self and others. According to Kelly (1952), "A group functions as a comparison reference group for an individual to the extent that the behavior, attitudes, circumstances, or other characteristics of its members represent standards or comparison points which he uses in making judgments and evaluations" [p. 213]. A person's reference group may or may not be the same as his membership group, the group to which others perceive him as belonging (Newcomb, 1950). A person may be included in a membership group by an objective criteria, e.g., American citizen, faculty member, male, etc., however, he may or may not use the membership group as a reference group.

This study is concerned with the comparative reference group used by black and white women when evaluating female attractiveness. Generally, society stresses physical characteristics when describing an attractive female and uses the physical attributes that are more common to white females. Therefore, we would expect that white women use their membership group as their reference group for evaluating physical attractiveness. However, it is not clear whether this is also true for black females. It is almost impossible for black women to have the physical attributes used by the larger society in describing an attractive female, e.g., blond hair, blue eyes, creamy skin, etc. (Grier & Cobb, 1968). While it is true that, generally, people may include in their description of an attractive female dark complexion, black hair, full lips, etc., very seldom are they referring to Negroid features. Indeed, there is evidence that black females are ambivalent about the attractiveness of their typically Negroid physical features. McDonald (1968) found that black female partners of engaged or married couples felt that their mate would judge lightskinned women as more attractive. This perception was not accurate, McDonald (1968) found that the black male mates, when rating pictures of black females of varying color and features for attractiveness, selected pictures of women with combined Negroid and Caucasoid features. While light-skinned women have historically been preferred (Staples, 1973), there seems to be a steady decline in this preference over the past decade (Udry, Bauman, & Chase, 1971). In addition, Samuel and Laird (1974) found that black females on a predominantly white campus rated themselves lower on the concept of physical self than black females at a predominantly black college. This suggests that situational factors may influence the perceptions of attractiveness among black females.

There is also evidence that black females are using black women as their reference group in other aspects of their femininity and therefore may use this group in their evaluation of female attractiveness. Myers (1975) in her study of black women drawn from a medium size midwestern city found that 40% reported identifying with a black woman they knew, while an additional 54% reported identifying with black women in general in maintaining their self-esteem. Only 2% of her subjects reported identifying with a specific white woman, and 4% said they identified with white women in general. Watson (1974) and Ladner (1971) have also asserted that other black females are the primary reference group for black women in defining their femininity. In addition, Wright (1975) found that her population of black women did not stress physical standards of beauty as an important aspect of their feminine identification, rather the emphasis was on concern of self and individual action. Writers have suggested that black females are viewed positively for their personality attributes (e.g., strength, resourcefulness, and self-reliance) in the black community (Barnes, 1972; Ladner, 1971; Staples, 1973). These results are contrary to the findings of studies of self-esteem among white females who seem to stress heterosexual relationships and physical standards of beauty (Bardwick, 1971). One possible interpretation of these findings is that black and white females may use different attributes in their description of attractiveness. If black females are using other black women as their reference group they may be more concerned about personality attributes than physical characteristics when describing an attractive female than white females.

This study's examination of these issues is part of a larger report on the relationship between self-concept, attractiveness, and reference group for black and white women. The study used the technique proposed by McGuire and Padawer-Singer (1976) to measure self-concept by analyzing the spontaneous response of the subject to the question "Tell us about yourself?" McQuire and Padawer-Singer (1976) feel that this spontaneous response will elicit more relevant information about self-concept than a structured personality scale. Some of the data on the issue of self-concept is reported in another paper (Stonner, 1976). This technique is also used to elicit information about attractiveness from black and white women. This study is concerned with whether black and white females use different attributes in describing attractiveness. Further, the study assessed whether there is a difference in the physical features used to describe a physically attractive female. Finally, we wished to consider whether the responses varied as a function of the racial make-up of the social milieu and/or the race of the experimenter.

Method

Subjects

The subjects were black (N = 40) and white (N = 40) female students on a college campus that has a 17% black enrollment. The participants received nominal credit in their introductory psychology course for their participation.

Procedure

Participants were scheduled in groups of from 5 to 7 per session such that the groups contained all black, all white, all but one black, or all but one white participant(s). The participants were met in a small classroom by one of the experimenters (four experimenters were used, two black and two white females each of whom conducted all combinations of groups). The stimulus materials consisted of identical four page booklets with a statement at the top of each page and ruled lines for the written responses. The statements at the top of pages 1 through 4 were as follows: "Tell us about yourself;" "Describe what you look like;" "Describe an attractive female;" and "Describe the physical characteristics of an attractive female." The data from the first two pages will not be discussed in this paper. Participants were told not to write their name or any identifying marks on the booklets and that all responses were anonymous. Participants were further instructed to simply respond to the statement at the top of each page and not to turn the page until instructed to do so by the experimenter. Four minutes were allotted for the completion of each page.

At the completion of the task the booklets were collected and in those cases where a single respondent provided the relevant data the booklet was marked by the experimenter. Participants were asked at the completion of the task to return for another session and serve as "filler" members for the subsequent groups.

Scoring

The data reduction was in a manner described by McGuire et al. (1976). Two coders, working independently and blind to condition, separated the responses into units. Each unit represented an individual thought. For example, the statement "I am a sophomore/majoring in nursing/ and I enjoy school" counted as three units.

Results

The total number of units in response to the item "describe an attractive female" was 510 ($\bar{X} = 6.375$). The data from the responses to this question were analyzed for subjects in an all black group and an all white group for a comparison of how often each group used physical characteristics in describing an attractive female. The average number of units generated by the all black group was 4.4 and 9.4

for the all white group. The percentage of units categorized as either physical or personality attributes for black and white females are presented in Table 1. There were some responses that could not be categorized as belonging to either of these categories, therefore the percents do not total 100. The results indicated that both the all white group and the all black group used more physical attributes than personality characteristics in describing an attractive female. However the white females were more inclined to use physical characteristics (in terms of the percentage of total units generated) than their black counterparts.

TABLE 1

Percentage of Units Using Physical or Personality Attributes in Describing an Attractive Female for all Black and all White Groups

Group	Physical attributes	Personality attributes
All black	47%	32%
All white	67%	12%

An analysis of the number of physical characteristics used in response to the question "Describe an attractive female" yielded a three-way interaction significant at the .02 level. The post-hoc analysis of the finding indicated that these results were due to a depression of the use of physical characteristics for white subjects when in the presence of blacks (either other group members or experimenter) and an increase in the use of physical characteristics for black subjects when in the presence of a white (either group members or experimenter).

A 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA (race of subject, race of experimenter, race of group) was conducted on the number of units used to describe an attractive female. There were no main effects reaching significance in this analysis, however a significant three-way interaction was obtained. A post-hoc analysis indicated that this interaction was accounted for by the difference in total units generated in the black subjects in the all black group with a black experimenter (X = 4.9) as compared with the white subjects in the all white group (X = 7.0).

In response to the question "Describe the physical characteristics of an attractive female" a number of subjects explicitly stated that they had done so on the previous page, or gave duplicate responses to both pages. An analysis of the source of this effect indicated that white subjects made duplicate responses significantly more frequently than black subjects (.30 vs. .02). This difference was significant, $\underline{F}$ (1, 72) = 14.1, $p < .001$.

The responses to the question "Describe an attractive female" were analyzed further for differences in other categories, e.g., how often mentioned height, complexion of skin, clothes, etc. The only significant differences for the white and black subjects was in the mention of body shape (e.g., a narrow waist), physically evaluative comment (e.g., not too fat), and make-up. The data is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Average Number of Units per Respondent that Mentioned Body Shape, Physically Evaluative Comments, and Make-up for Black and White Subjects

Variable	White (N=40)	Black (N=40)	F-Ratio
Body shape	.9	.5	7.04*
Physically evaluative comment	.9	.3	10.37**
Make-up	.3	.03	6.43

* $\underline{p} < .01$ ** $\underline{p} < .005$

White subjects, more than black, used these types of responses in describing an attractive female. Race of experimenter and racial composition of the group did not make a difference. All interactions were due to the main effect of race of subject.

The second question "Describe the physical characteristics of an attractive female" generated 450 units of response by the participants. The responses were analyzed for the effects of race of experimenter, racial composition of the group, and race of subject. The significant differences were for main effect of race of subject on the number of units generated, $\underline{F} = 7.33$, $\underline{p} < .01$, and mentioning of clothes, $\underline{F} = 4.5$, $\underline{p} < .05$. Race of experimenter and racial composition of the group did not have an effect.

Four judges (2 white and 2 black) analyzed the responses to the two questions to note whether the descriptions were racially exclusive (e.g., black skin, blue eyes). Neither group (black or white subjects) used racially exclusive attributes in describing an attractive female or a physically attractive female. A total of 10 subjects (4 white and 6 black) made comments that would be racially exclusive. These responses were fairly equally distributed across cells with the exception being that all black and all white cells where no racially exclusive comments occrrred.

Discussion

The primary issue investigated was whether black females used white or black women as a reference group when evaluating female attractiveness. Previous studies (Bardwick, 1971; Wright, 1975) indicate that black and white women emphasize different attributes when considering their femininity. Black women are valued for their personality traits

(Staples, 1973) in the black community and these attributes are important to their perceptions of femininity (Ladner, 1971). If black women use other black women as their reference group in evaluating female attractiveness it was expected that they would be more concerned with personality traits. This is not to the exclusion of physical appearance which is also important to black females (Ladner, 1971). On the other hand, we would expect white females to emphasize physical attributes in their perceptions of attractiveness since physical beauty is stressed in the general society's definition of femininity.

When we compared the data from responses generated by the item "describe an attractive female" for all black and all white groups, it was found that black females gave more personality characteristics than white. Seventy-nine percent of the responses for black and white females could be categorized as either referring to personality or physical attributes. For black women almost half of these responses (32%) referred to personality attributes whereas less than one-fourth (12%) of the white's responses were in this category. White female's responses more often (67%) referred to physical attributes than black (47%). This suggests that black females are probably using other black women as a reference group when evaluating female attractiveness. The presence of whites as either subjects in the group or as the experimenter resulted in an increase in the number of physical characteristics mentioned by blacks in describing an attractive female. Similarly, the presence of blacks resulted in a decrease of the use of physical characteristics on the part of white females. These findings point to the effect of the social milieu in which such data are collected. It would seem that white females do indeed stress physical characteristics in describing attractive females and blacks stress personality characteristics. However, the presence of members of other racial groups seems to add cues that shift this emphasis. A white experimenter or the presence of other white females in the session seems to result in the black subject taking on the society's general concern with physical attributes. Similarly, the presence of black females seems to cause the white respondent to realize that aspects of the person other than physical characteristics are important in determining attractiveness.

Whether black females viewed their physical features as attractive was also a concern of this study. In describing a physically attractive female, very seldom did either group use racially exclusive terms (e.g., blue eyes). Our results are consistent with the findings of McDonald (1968) who found that black males used a combination of Negroid and Caucasoid features in selecting attractive females. It is still not clear whether white and black females are referring to the same phenomena when stating that a female with medium lips, dark complexion, and thick hair is attractive. This issue should be investigated further.

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ED148947

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COGNITIVE TASKS AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

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Paper prepared for Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology III at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, October 29-31, 1976.

UD017659

ABSTRACT

The study examined the effects of socio-economic status and categories of learning when holding ethnicity constant. Seventy-two subjects were randomly selected from two socioeconomic levels -- thirty six each from middle and low SES. Fourth-and fifth-grade children were used. Three hypotheses were tested:

1) Positive correlations will be found between the sets of measures listed below:

Set I	Set II
Digit Span	SES
RCPM	SAT

2) A non-significant relationship between the measures in Set I under facilitating conditions and the measures in Set II will be found.

Set I	Set II
P-A Task	SAT
	RCPM
	SES
	Digit Span

3) Pictorial and verbal elaboration presentations will be associated with a significant increase in paired-associate learning over the control condition.

One test of intelligence, one achievement battery and two tests of learning ability were used to obtain data.

The Ravens Coloured Progressive Matrices were used as a test of general intelligence. The Standard Achievement Test was used as the measure of achievement. One digit-span task

and a mixed list paired-associate task served as tests of learning ability. Socio-economic status (SES) was determined on the basis of 1970 census tract information in which households were defined in terms of socioeconomic class.

General hypothesis #1 was partially supported in that statistically significant correlations between RCM and measures of standardized achievement were found. It was not supported in relation to the following: digit span did not correlate with SES; SAT and digit span were unrelated; and no significant RCM and SES variance was indicated. General hypothesis #2 was supported by the data; no statistically significant relationship between measures of basic learning ability and those purportedly tapping higher conceptual ability and school achievement was found. General hypothesis #3 was only partially supported because neither elaboration condition was differentiated from the other. Although both were statistically superior to the control, comparable learning over trials was expected.

It was concluded that more of a consensus among social scientists is needed relative to methodology in verbal learning and memory. In addition, further verbal learning and memory research designed to isolate the characteristics of "non-problem population" samples as well as "problem population" samples are needed before statements of comparison can be made.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COGNITIVE TASKS AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

The consistent educational under-achievement of poor children is the first theme of this study. Enormous energies and funds have been expended in periodic, if not continuous, attempts to probe the mystery of the consistent lack of achievement of lower socioeconomic status of elementary school children; consider the sole purpose of the various Title IV projects originating from the federal government in response to such survey research efforts as the Coleman Report (1966).

The second theme in this research concerns interactions between subject and experimental variables. It is important to determine whether words or sentences differentially facilitate learning, and to determine relative learning efficiency using differences in familiar materials in terms of noun pairs. Paired-associate research has combined these concerns through analyzing relationships between learning efficiency and class of connectives; a need for replication exists. The following form class of words that join P-A items have a differential facilitating effect:

1) verb
2) preposition
3) conjunction

The third theme of this research relates to the need to compare serial and Paired Associates (P-A) learning ability. It has been hypothesized that P-A and serial learning differ in the degree to which they depend upon transfer from previous verbal learning -- the amount and availability of relevant verbal associations, including the Ss tendency to verbalize spontaneously concerning the task set before the learner (Jensen & Rohwer, 1965).

In essence, the investigation explored how the paired-associate task compared with traditional measures (CPM, Digit Span) in predicting school achievement of Black subjects at different SES levels.

Definition of Terms

The following pertinent definitions are taken from Rohwer's (1971a) recent discussion of the overall problem. Learning ability "refers to the capacity for acquiring, retaining, and producing new information" (p.191). Achievement in the school is used synonymously with Rohwer's term "school success." He used it to refer "primarily to performance on standardized tests of school achievement and secondarily to evaluations of school performance by teacher, e.g. grades" (p. 191-192). And finally, "ethnicity refers to commonly recognized population differences that may be characterized as cultural or racial but not as social or economic" (p. 182). In addition, the following terms are relevant to the specification of the effects of facilitation and mediation in paired-associate learning. Verbal description, verbal imagery and verbal context refer to "a verbal statement about an interaction between the stimulus and response elements paired in a paired-associate task and are to be contrasted with visual imagery of such an interaction" (Reese, 1965, p. 291). Verbal pair elaboration (as opposed to single item elaboration) refers to the two nouns that are used to form the subject and object of a sentence describing an event. Pair elaboration with pictures denotes an event characterizing the noun pairs named by the paired-associate items when indicated pictorially (Rohwer & Ammon, 1971). Pictorical presentation elaboration will be used to define paired-associate tasks in which sentences are formed containing word pairs under instructions to form images involving referents of the pairs (Rohwer & Ammon, 1971). Verbal imagery will be used to refer to a verbal statement about an interaction between the stimulus and response elements paired in a paired-associate task, and are usually constrasted with visual imagery of such an interaction (Reese, 1965 Rohwer, et al. 1971; Rohwer, 1971a; Rohwer, 1971b; Rohwer, 1972; Green and Rohwer, 1971; Kee and Rohwer, 1973). As evident in the literature, the bulk of previous paired-associate research dealt with the interactions of socioeconomic class, ethnicity, mediation facilitation and the paired-associate paradigm No particular focus on the above combination of school-relevant variables was discerned. More specifically, differences in the following measures are of interest, rather than overall cognitive characteristics of social class:

-- Paired-associate learning

-- Digit span task score

-- Raven CPM score

More concisely, the interest was the relationship between variables A and B below, particularly the predictions with two SES levels and one grade level:

Variables A	Variables B
Paired-Associate Score	Stanford Achievement Test Score
1) joined picture	1) reading
2) separate picture	2) math
3) control	
Digit Span Score	
Raven Progressive Matrices	

The two dependent measures were used because they are routinely used in school settings and therefore are valid indices of teacher-relevant pupil growth. The three independent measures were chosen because they have been traditionally used in paired-associate research (Jensen and Rohwer, 1965; Rohwer and Lynch, 1966; Jensen & Rohwer, 1963a; Jensen & Rohwer, 1963b). In addition, the Raven CPM tend to correlate positively with measures of intelligence, whereas paired-associate scores usually do not correlate with either of the other independent measures. The digit span task was used because it taps what is commonly referred to as rote memory ability.

Hypotheses

As previously noted, the study was designed to pinpoint relationships between pertinent school-related variables. As an example, will RCPM and DS measures positively correlate with SES? How will the P-A predictions of prior research be supported? Specifically, as a dependent variable, paired-associate scores are thought to represent quite accurately the nature of school-related learning materials and activities.

In this study, by contrast, paired-associate learning was used as an independent variable in order to validate this claim. And finally, how will the SES related predictions of previously cited research hold up when only one race is used? The following hypotheses are to be tested:

1) Positive correlations will be found between the sets of measures listed below:

SET I	SET II
Digit Span	SES
RCPM	SAT

The following predictions were implied from this hypothesis:

a) Digit span will be positively correlated to SES level.

b) Digit span scores will be positively correlated to the standardized reading and math scores--SATr and SATm, respectively.

c) RCPM will be positively correlated with SES.

d) RCPM will be positively correlated with the Stanford Achievement measures on reading and math, SATr and SATm, respectively.

2) A non-significant relationship between the measures in Set I under facilitating conditions and the measures in Set II will be found:

SET I	SET II
P-A Task	SAT, RCPM, SES, Digit Span

Hypothesis #2 predicted an in significant relationship between the measure of learning ability (P-A) and the following:

a) Stanford Achievement Test

b) Ravens Coloured Matrices

c) Socioeconomic Level

d) Digit Span Task

3) Pictorial and verbal elaboration presentations will be associated with a significant increase in paired-associate learning over the control condition.

METHODS

Subjects

Seventy-two children ages 9 to 11 were randomly selected from an all-Black population sample. Grade levels four and five were combined because subjects were participating in a summer program along the lines of the British Infant School or "open classroom" approach. Thirty-six were randomly selected from a lower socioeconomic status (SES) population and thirty-six from a middle SES population sample.

Materials and Tasks

The materials used for data collection consisted of: (1) a test of intelligence; (2) an achievement battery; and (3) two tests of learning ability. The Ravens Coloured Progressive Matrices were used as a test of general intelligence. The Stanford Achievement Test was used as the measure of achievement. One digit-span task and a mixed list paired-associate task served as tests of learning ability.

Socioeconomic status (SES) was determined on the basis of 1970 census tract information in which households were clearly defined in terms of socioeconomic class. This frame of reference utilized the following variables: median educational level, percentage of homeowners, average size of homeowner's dwelling, average rent, ratic of run-down and dilapidated houses to sound houses, and a "crowding" index.

Finally, slides were prepared of each stimulus and stimulus-response pair. Three random combinations of the sixteen stimulus pairs were arranged in a projector tray.

The Ravens Coloured Progressive Matrices (RCPM) have often been used as a measure of abstract reasoning ability. With the recent increased interest in learning ability and cognitive development, the Ravens set has been used to measure group differences, particularly where social class, age and ethnicity are variables. The RCPM is a nonverbal reasoning test devised to measure the "g" factor and minimize variance on group factors and social abilities such as verbal and numerical ability. It is generally regarded as one of the more culture-free or culture-fair tests of reasoning ability.

The test is administered without time limits, and subjects are encouraged to attempt every problem, with no penalty for guessing.

The Stanford Achievement Test Elementary and Intermediate Batteries were used. Each battery consisted of subtests in the following areas (Anastasi, 1961):

Vocabulary (word knowledge)
Reading (comprehension)
Arithmetic
Spelling
Language Areas
Social Studies
Science

Only reading and math were used in this study.

Jensen (1973) describes the memory for numbers test as "a set of three tests of auditory short-term memory, found in past studies to be a good measure of Level I ability." The entire test, which takes about half an hour, is administered by means of a tape recording which presents digit series of from four to nine digits at a one-second rate. After each series, the subjects write as many digits as they can recall on a specially prepared answer sheet. The score is the number of digits recalled in the correct position. Only the subtest for immediate recall was given.

The paired-associate mixed list was developed by Rohwer, et al., (1967) and consisted of forty-eight items. Three item types, of sixteen items each, characterized the total list (Kee & Rohwer, 1973):

1) Separate referents with labels (SL) - a picture of two objects depicted side by side; a noun label was presented aurally for each referent, as an example, "the pencil--the cake."
2) Joined referents with labels (JL) - a picture of the two objects depicted in a spatially interactive setting, for instance, a picture of a pencil stuck through the center of a cake. In addition, the noun labels were presented aurally for each referent.
3) Sentence condition (Sent) - a picture of the two objects depicted side by side and the noun labels were presented for each referent; each pair was connected aurally with a verb, for example, "the pencil sticks the cake."

Equipment

Equipment consisted of a Kodak Ektagraphic Projector Model AF in combination with a Wollensak Model 2550AV. It was used to change slides automatically by means of a timed signal placed on a cassette tape. Appropriate verbalizations were made by the experimenters. One male and one female experimenter participated.

Procedure

The major steps in the study included:

1) Pilot Study
2) Assigning Subjects to Levels

3) Simultaneous Testing
    a. Group Testing
        1. RCPM
        2. Memory for numbers
    b. Individual Testing
        1. Paired-associates
    c. Collecting June '73 SAT Scores.

Initially, a pilot study and item analysis were conducted in order to equitably assign items of comparable difficulty. to all three conditions. Forty Black children from fifth grade classes similar to the experimental population sample were tested on the forty-eight paired-associate (P-A) items in the separate reference with label conditions (SL). Experimental conditions were indentical in both the pilot study and actual study; the difference was that only the SL condition -- side by side referents with labels presented aurally -- was used in the former.

The second step of the study was the assignment of approximately one hundred subjects to SES levels in accordance with the 1970 Census tract information. Because there are obvious limitations and inaccuracies inherent in using Census data of this kind, a panel of three judges was employed as an informal reliability check.

The first sub-stage of the third step consisted of group testing on all combined fourth-fifth grade classes in the summer school. Both the RCPM and the Digit Span Task (DS) were administered on consecutive days by the author to total classes; a teacher aide and classroom teacher monitored the sessions. As noted earlier,the RCPM was administered according to the manual of instructions and the DS was administered using a Sony TC 120 tape recorder with the actual instructions prerecorded by the author.

The paired-associate (P-A) task consisted of a "mixed-list." It was used in order to examine the semantic hypothesis. That is, one P-A list contained each of the three types of conditions, SL, JL, and Sent. In order to allow unequivocal measurements of the effects of prompt conditions aside from the effects of item difficulty, items were counterbalanced across presentation conditions. Items from the original list were allocated in a stratified random manner to three sets of sixteen items each. P-A tasks were administered in accord with a study-test method for a total of two complete trials. The presentation rate for both study and test trials was 5 seconds with a 15 second intertrial interval. During the study trials the experimenter (E) made the appropriate utterance as the referents appeared on a screen. During the test trials the experimenter named the stimulus object as it appeared after which the subject (S) was expected to say aloud the name of the missing response referent The entire procedure required approximately fifteen minutes. It should be noted that

E informed the subjects as to the procedure that would be followed and asked them to study each of the pictures of the objects in order to remember which ones were presented together. One example of each condition was provided on cardboard using pictures familiar but different from the actual tests, in order to assure that Ss understood the task. The sample items were presented in the same study-test pattern as that which characterized the test lists. These sample items were presented until each S responded correctly.

RESULTS

Analyses

The initial concern was the prediction of school performance among Black urban elementary school children. Would paired-associate learning scores predict school ability as indicated on achievement batteries? This question was central to the entire design and analyses of this research effort.

Performance on the test of basic learning ability (paired-associates) was measured in terms of the total number of responses across trials by conditions. Scores on all subtests comprising the mixed list were also computed. The Digit Span task ,which was the measure of memory,was scored according to the total number of digits recalled in proper position or sequence over the seven series lengths. The test of higher cognitive functioning, the Raven Coloured Progressive Matrices, was scored in terms of total number of correct responses over the entire test; raw scores were used for analyses. Stanford Achievement levels were based on composite grade levels computed on the reading and the math achievement tests. Socioeconomic levels were determined by 1970 United States Census Tract information.

A stepwise multiple linear regression was computed so that hypotheses one, two and three could be examined. The following predictions were implied from the first hypothesis:

a) Digit span scores will be positively correlated with SES level.

b) Digit span scores will be positively correlated with both Stanford reading and math scores - SATr and SATm, respectively.

c) RCM will be positively correlated with SES.

d) RCM will be positively correlated with the Stanford Achievement measures on reading and math, SATr and SATm, respectively.

Table 1 illustrates intercorrelations relative to these predictions.

TABLE 1

Intercorrelations Among Digit Span, Raven, SES, and Stanford Achievement Scores

	RCM	SES	SATr	SATm
DS	.0213	.1464	.1790	.1683
RCM	1.	.0855	-.3637*	.3774*
SES		1.	-.2297	.1441
SATr			1.	.6829**
SATm				1.

*p 05
**p 01

Table 1 indicates that only prediction (d) was supported; that is, Raven scores do bear a statistically significant relationship to both the reading (SATr) and math (SATm) scores on the Stanford Achievement battery. None of the remaining predictions was supported by these data.

Hypothesis #2 predicted a non-significant relationship between the measure of learning ability (P-A) and the following:

a) Stanford Achievement Test

b) Raven Coloured Matrices

c) Socioeconomic Level

d) Digit Span Task

Four specific predictions are implied from general hypothesis two. The first (a) is that no statistically significant relationship between either the reading or math achievement test and P-A measures will be found. Table 2 summarizes intercorrelations pertinent to this prediction. Paired-associate subtests are included for specificity.

TABLE 2

Intercorrelations Among Stanford Reading and Math and Paired-Associate Sub-tests

	READ	SL_1	JL_1	$SENT_1$	SL_2	JL_2	$SENT_2$
MATH	.6829**	.1363	.1255	.0610	.1160	.1640	.1558
READ	1.	.0632	.0456	.0105	.1042	.0766	.1320
SL_1		1.	.5128**	.5621**	.7499**	.5272**	.5251**
JL_1			1.	.7055**	.6123**	.7791**	.7397**
$SENT_1$				1.	.5064**	.6671**	.6966**
SL_2					1.	.6483**	.6532**
JL_2						1.	.8053**
$SENT_2$							1.

*p 05
**p 01

Hypothesis 2(a) was supported by the data.

Specific prediction (b) stated a non-significant correlation of P-A with RCM. Table 3 summarizes:

TABLE 3

Intercorrelations Among Paired-Associate and Raven Scores

	SL_1	JL_1	$SENT_1$	SL_2	JL_2	$SENT_2$
RCM	-.0193	.005	-.0297	.0155	.0265	.0567
SL_1	1.	.5128*	.5621**	.7499**	.5272**	.5251**
JL_1		1.	.7055**	.6123**	.7791**	.7397**
$SENT_1$			1.	.5064**	.6671**	.6966**
SL_2				1.	.6483**	.6532**
JL_2					.1	.8053**
$SENT_2$						1.

*p .05
**p .01

Hypothesis 2(b) was upheld by the data. No statistically significant correlations were evident.

Specific predictions 2(c) and 2 (d) were:

2(c) Non-significant P-A correlations with SES will exist.

2(d) Non-significant P-A correlations will be found between P-A and digit span.

Table 4 shows intercorrelations for 2 (c).

TABLE 4

Intercorrelations Among SES and P-A Sub-tests

	SL_1	JL_1	$SENT_1$	SL_2	JL_2	$SENT_2$
SES	-.0801	-.0549	.0793	-.0473	.0683	.0822
SL_1	1.	.5128**	.5621**	.7499**	.5272**	.5251**
JL_1		1.	.7055**	.6123**	.7791**	.7397**
$SENT_1$			1.	.5064**	.6671**	.6966**
SL_2				1.	.6488**	.6532**
JL_2					1.	.8053**
$SENT_2$						1.

*p .05
**p .01

Again, hypothesis 2(c) was supported by the data, no statistically significant relationship between P-A tests and socioeconomic status was evident. Table 5 indicates correlations among P-A and digit span scores.

TABLE 5

Interrelation Among P-A Sub-tests and Digit Span

	SL_1	JL_1	$SENT_1$	SL_2	JL_2	$SENT_2$
DS	-.1564	-.2293	-.1091	-.1268	-.2521*	-.1870
SL_1	1.	.5128**	.5621**	.7499**	.5272**	.5251**
JL_1		1.	.7055**	.6123**	.7791**	.7397**
$SENT_1$			1.	.5064**	.6671**	.6966**
SL_2				1.	.6488**	.6532**
JL_2					1.	.8053**
$SENT_2$						1.

*p .05
**p .01

Prediction 2 (d) was supported by the data; there were no significant differences.

To summarize findings pertinent to general hypothesis two:

1) Scores on the Stanford reading and math tests were unrelated to paired-associate mixed lists scores;
2) No statistically significant correlation among paired-associate measures and scores on the Ravens Coloured Matrices were found;
3) Paired-associate learning did not significantly correlate with socioeconomic status; and
4) No statistically significant interrelationships between digit span and paired-associate tasks was found.

In sum, the overall hypothesis was supported by these data.

General hypothesis three predicted that pictorial and verbal elaboration presentations would be associated with a signficiant increase in paired-associate learning. Specifically, the order of paired-associate outcomes was hypothesized as: SL JL SENT. Table 6 presents all the means over trials by SES groups.

TABLE 6

Mean P-A Performance as a Function of Population SES

		P-A SCORE			
CONDITION	SES	TRIAL 1		TRIAL 2	
		$\overline{X}$	SD	$\overline{X}$	SD
SL	Upper	2.3	2.0	6.0	3.3
	Lower	2.6	2.2	6.3	3.9
JL	Upper	6.5	3.0	11.6	3.3
	Lower	6.8	3.0	12.0	2.6
SENT	Upper	6.9	3.1	10.9	3.0
	Lower	6.4	3.6	11.4	3.1

These cell mean scores indicate the predicted "separate label joined label" relationship was supported by these data and the predicted "joined label sentence" relationship was not evident. Specifically, trial effects were found to be significant (F=625.06, df=1/70, p .001). No differential effects for SES were detected (F=.97). Condition effects were demonstrated (F=265.14, df=1/70, p .001); the SL condition was significantly lower than both of the other conditions -- JL and SENT. No statistically significant difference between JL and SENT were noted. A trial by condition effect was noted (F=11., df 1/70, p .01); this indicated that the amount of difference between P-A was greater on trial #2 than on trial #1 because the "joined label" and "sentence" conditions indicated more improvement over trials than did"separate labels." Further discussion of this unexpected elaboration effect follows in the discussion section.

To summarize, there were three general hypotheses. General hypothesis one was partially supported in that statistically significant intercorrelations among RCM and measures of standardized achievement were found. It was not supported in relation to the following: digit span was not correlated with SES; SAT and digit span were unrelated; and no significant RCM and SES variance was indicated. General hypothesis two was supported by the data; no statistically significant relationship between measures of basic learning ability and those purportedly tapping higher conceptral ability and school achievement was found. General hypothesis three was only partially supported because neither elaboration condition was significantly different from the other. Although both were statistically superior to the control- comparable learning over trials had been expected.

Initially, the study set out to focus on three themes pertinent to to educational research. The first theme was the problem of consistent low achievement of poor or low SES children in elementary school. Theme number two was the general interest in the interrelations between certain subject and experimental variables. The third theme related to interrelationships among indirect and direct measures of learning ability within an all black population sample.

The current study held ethnicity constant in order to more accurately assess the effects of several other measures as predictors of school success. The following findings are most significant in terms of the study's overall purpose:

> Paired-associate learning did not predict school ability.
>
> The main effect for SES was not significant on any of the P-A subtests or overall scores.
>
> Elaboration comparably facilitated P-A learning in both SES groups over the control condition.
>
> Digit span tasks scores were comparable in both groups.
>
> Neither the Ravens nor Stanford indicated any significant SES related variance; however, both the measures of cognitive functioning and school achievement correlated with each other.
>
> Paired-associate tasks were not significantly correlated with the SAT, RCM, SES or D.S.

At this point, an exhaustive list of implications for further social science research would be redundant and necessarily incomplete. However, two implications which are stated elsewhere in the study, deserve reiteration. The first is that there is a need for consensus around some very basic issues pertaining to the psychology of learning and memory. More often than is judicious, social scientists tend to develop a comprehensive technology without taking the need for validation into account. Subsequent research in a particular area is usually carried out by students, hence the really hard questions relevant to the field of educational psychology are rarely raised. The second implication concerns the relative absence of recent learning and memory research on achieving and non-problem populations. What are modal learning patterns of achieving Irish-American population samples when serial and paired-associate tasks are employed? This would provide empirical evidence sorely needed, particularly in terms of school achievement and its relationship to more direct measures of learning and memory.

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ED148948

BANG! BANG! YOU'RE DEAD!

TELEVISION IN THE LIVES OF BLACK PEOPLE

by Carl O. Word, Ph.D[1]

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[1] This research was supported in part by National Science Foundation Grant #APR 75-01757 to Cablecommunications Resource Center, William Wright, principal investigator.

UD0 17660

Television in the Lives of Black People

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Presented at the Third Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology

Cornell University October - 1976

BANG! BANG! YOU'RE DEAD!
TELEVISION IN THE LIVES OF BLACK PEOPLE

Carl O. Word, Ph.D.

A conservative estimate of the number of hours television sets are turned on in the homes of the nation's 26 million Blacks totals 100,000,000 man hours of viewing per day. A vigorous debate over the individual and collective effects of all this viewing is taking place, especially in regards to the effects of violent television on children (e.g., Los Angeles Times, 1976, Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, 1972). Amidst the charges and counter charges, research on the viewing behavior and the effects of the ubiquitous medium on Blacks is singularly absent.

Summing up the extant research on Black populations concerning television, one reviewer put it thusly: "If I put all the research on Black youngsters and television in a thimble, I'd still have room for my thumb (Barrow, 1975)."

Whatever one's views on the role of television in the lives of Black people, there is little doubt that the medium occupies an enormous proportion of their leisure time. The fact remains that the medium exposes viewers to a variety of messages in its entertainment, news, and commercial appeals. What effects do these accumulated messages have on the socialization of Black youth? What are effects of repeated exposure to violent episodes on Black people's capacities to respond to each others' needs? What does reliance on television news portend for shaping Black adults' political attitudes, information, and political behavior?

The present research grows out of concerns like these, and two additional concerns.

First, after an initial review of the literature on attitude measurement techniques and viewing behavior measurement procedures, it became clear new techniques would have to be developed for use with Black urban populations. This paper reports on the results of a pilot investigation utilizing new techniques. Second, in the absence of reliable data on what Blacks watch, why they watch such fare, and what they feel about such shows, the results of that pilot survey are here presented for their heuristic value. Implications will be drawn for future research.

Methodological Considerations

In an earlier paper this author proposed some alternatives to standardized attitude measurement techniques for use with Black urban populations (Word, 1975). The reader is referred to that work for a complete description of the rationales and procedures employed in the question creation phase. We will concern ourselves here with the results of a pilot survey using those questions.

The procedures employed by the A. C. Nielsen Company, the most widely reported and influential polling organization, point out why new procedures had to be instituted. A white male stranger rings the door bell at Black inner city homes and asks for the head of the household. The Nielsen Company does not report refusal rates. It expressly disclaims responsibility for errors arising from refusals. An estimate of the magnitude of error involved is provided in the experiences of Greenberg & Dervin (1970). In inner city areas of Detroit fully thirty percent of those contacted refused to be polled. Studies conducted by the prestigious University of Michigan Survey Research Center have reported even higher refusal rates in similar neighborhoods (Jackson, 1975).

Following the ethnomethodological investigation described in the earlier paper, questions were formulated for use with a Black urban population. As Table I illustrates, areas of investigation included television use, feelings about shows watched, measures of attention, contextual features of viewing, preference for Black-oriented public affairs shows, important community problems, demographic characteristics and racial attitudes.

Insert Table I

Procedures

Young female college students approached the homes selected according to the sample plan (See Appendix for detailed description). She asked to speak to "any adult." She identified herself as working for the Booker T. Washington Foundation and asked for an interview. If the respondent seemed reluctant, interviewers were instructed to ask for a better time to return. Refusal rate was under ten percent.

All responses were tape recorded. Rather than initiate a rigid question and answer, first-I-speak-then-you-speak interview style, interviewers were trained to initiate a flowing conversational style, to respond with "um-hum," "yes," "I hear you," etc., throughout the interview, in response to whatever the respondent said. The procedure was judged successful in getting interviewees to verbalize more, to give richer, more detailed responses to open ended questions.

TABLE I

Topics Investigated in Pilot Survey, Richmond, California, 1975

Favorite Shows

Ratings of Favorite, Other Shows

Characteristics of Preferred Shows

Realism and Liking

Preference for Black-Oriented Public Affairs Shows

Last Night's Viewing

Viewing Habits

Attention to Shows Watched

Attitudes Toward Violence on Television

Important Community Problems

Demographic Characteristics

Racial Attitudes

Results

The first question asked was "What is your favorite show?" It was quite useful in initiating a conversation. Table II presents the results of several questions about shows watched in the last couple of weeks. Black oriented shows were the most popular, in terms of audience size. Extrapolation from such a small sample size is not advised, but the results are useful in terms of suggesting relationships.

Insert Table II and Table III

There was a clear relationship between audience size and its proportion of "very good" ratings (Spearman rho=.78, p .01).

Viewers were asked to indicate why they liked their favorite show, last night's shows, and shows they had watched in the last couple of weeks. As Table III shows, the eight categories supplied to respondents included "I just like it," "To relax," "To get a laugh," "To get information," "Because I can relate to the characters," "Because the show tells it like it is," "Because it's an exciting program," and "other." Respondents were asked to indicate two of the reasons why they watched shows.

Two thirds of respondents indicated they "just like it," or gave various "other" responses. This finding can be interpreted as indicating people do not take that much care in selecting fare. It can also be seen as a function of the difficulty of obtaining motivations for viewing from retrospective accounts. We will have more to say about this finding in connection with the construction of a model for viewer satisfaction.

Several questions assessed the amount of time spent viewing. Pretest interviews demonstrated the amount viewed depended on how questions were put

TABLE III

Reasons for Viewing

Program		Like it	Relax	Laugh	Info	Relate	Tell it like is	Excite	Other	
"Most Favorite		22%	-	7%	4%	17%	12%	4%	34%	n=76
Last Nite	#1	0	25	10	20	4	12	15	12	n=48
Last Nite	2	0	23	3	13	13	3	37	6	n=30
Last Nite	3	0	27	36	9	-	-	9	18	n=11
Last Nite	4	0	33	16	16	-	16	16	0	n=6
Rookies Reason	#1	35	7	2	10	2	20	15	7	n=40
	#2	18	9	6	6	9	6	24	21	n=33
Jeffersons	#1	15	10	41	3	3	10	3	15	n=39
	#2	30	11	30	4	0	11	11	4	n=27
Waltons	#1	14	25	4	4	14	18	4	18	n=28
	#2	32	4	18	4	8	8	14	8	n=22
Chico	#1	28	16	34	0	3	3	0	16	n=32
	#2	21	21	32	0	5	10	0	10	n=19
Swat	#1	24	4	2	14	6	8	26	14	n=49
	#2	28	6	0	6	3	22	25	9	n=32
That's My Mama	#1	19	14	33	2	13	9	3	6	n=55
	#2	23	8	29	4	12	10	6	6	n=48
Kojak	#1	22	7	2	10	10	12	27	10	n=41
	#2	32	20	-	8	-	8	20	12	n=25
Local news	#1	23	2	3	55	5	7	2	3	n=60
	#2	15	3	-	40	-	13	3	5	n=37
Good Times	#1	16	10	37	3	13	13	4	3	n=59
	#2	22	12	27	4	16	6	10	4	n=51
Football	#1	35	-	6	6	-	-	18	35	n=16
	#2	45	-	-	-	9	-	18	27	n=11
Soaps	#1	19	24	5	5	10	7	19	10	n=41
	#2	23	16	3	6	19	13	10	10	n=31
Tony O & Dawn	#1	37	26	10	-	5	-	10	10	n=19
	#2	44	31	12	-	-	-	6	6	n=16

TABLE II

Audience Size and Ratings of Shows Viewed in Last Few Weeks

Show	Viewers	Ratings (in percents)				
	(N=87)	VC	PG	JA	PB	VB*
Good Times	69	64	29	6	1	-
That's My Momma	61	56	36	5	3	-
S.W.A.T.	45	44.4	31	20	4.5	-
Soaps (afternoon television)	43	43	40	14	2	-
Rookies	43	46	26	19	5	5
Jeffersons	40	50	37	10	2	0
Kojak	39	36	49	15	-	-
Chico & the Man	34	18	41	28	6	6
Waltons	28	46	32	14	7	-
Tony Orlando	18	28	50	11	5	5
Pro Football	17	60	27	7	7	-

* VC = Very Good
PG = Pretty Good
JA = Just Alright
PB = Pretty Bad
VB = Very Bad

to interviewees. The question was therefore asked in a variety of ways.

As Table IV shows, television sets were turned on in four out of five homes the night before, and seventy five percent of interviewees viewed last night. The same percentage anticipated viewing that evening. The amount viewed fluctuated from a median of one and a half hours for last night's viewing to the nearly three hours morning viewers spent with television.

Insert Table IV

Though we cannot add morning, afternoon, and evening viewing because different respondents viewed at different intervals, the wide discrepancy between the recollection of a little more than two and half hours and the combined median of morning, afternoon and evening viewing of six hours fifty minutes leads us to speculate that people do not recall how much they viewed. Perhaps their attention to television lies at the root of this discrepancy.

The issue of attention lies at the root of problems of measuring exposure and potential effects of the medium. It has been well established that people do not sit passively in front of the set, giving shows their undivided attention (e.g., Bechtel et al. 1972). Instead people use television much as a focus for their activities. Television use is in the context of friends, conversation, socializing, housework, or background noise. More than two thirds of the respondents in this survey answered "yes" when asked if they viewed the entire program, but more than fifty percent said they watched in the company of at least one other person. One gets the

TABLE IV

Indices of Viewing Time

Questions	Response Summary	
	Percent Sets Turned On	Actual Viewing (median times)
How much time was the T.V. turned on yesterday morning?	50	
you, yourself watched		2 hours, 50 minutes
How much time was the T.V. turned on yesterday afternoon	66	
you, yourself watched		2 hours, 30 minutes
How much time was the set turned on last night	80	
you, yourself watched		1 hour, 30 minutes
How much time do you watch the average weekday (day & eve.)		2 hours, 41 minutes
Do you plan to watch this evening?	75 (plan to watch)	

impression, from listening to the taped interviews, that there was at least conversation about the shows, if not about other topics during viewing.

The Importance of Realism

Throughout the unstructured interviews which comprised the question development phase, respondents indicated "realism" was an important dimension in evaluating the quality of shows. A related investigation conducted in Boston, Massachusetts, by Jones (1975) found the same concern voiced over "realism."

Thirty three percent of respondents, after identifying their favorite show, identified the reasons for watching and liking shows lay with reality-oriented satisfactions. They could "relate to the characters," or "they show tells it like it is." Indeed, realism continued to exert influence on ratings of other shows as well. A contingency correlation of .51 (p .05) was obtained between the popularity of a given show (in audience size) and the extent to which the show was seen as realistic. Further, when asked to rate last night's shows, the 47 respondents who had seen anything, rated shows and also rated them for "realness."

Insert Table V

Table V summarizes the results.

The small sample size made it difficult to conduct cross tabulations, particularly as fewer than the total of respondents had viewed a particular show, or indicated a reason for viewing other than "just like it" or "other." The strength of the relationship between "realism" reasons and ratings of the show is especially robust to show up under these constraints. At the

TABLE V

Ratings of Quality and Realness for Shows Watched Last Night

(N=47)

Realness	Ratings		
	Very Good	Pretty Good or Less	
a lot like real life	10	10	20
in between, or not at all real	4	23	27
	14	33	

$X^2 = 6.79$ 1df, p .02

same time, in the absence of corroborating results, from favorite shows, or from the total of shows and reasons for viewing, the relationship must await further documentation.

Intuitively such a finding is comforting. One might interpret the preoccupation with reality-validating aspects of television fare a healthy response for a group of people denied opportunities to view the realities they know and experience.

Clark (1972) reasoned that mass media provide maintenance inputs which help people maintain their definitions of reality. The repeated imposition of alien reality assumptions is seen as harmful to the identity structures and self-esteem of minority persons.

Following this line of reasoning, one can interpret the correlations of -.66 (p .05, one-tailed) between the number of times shows were ranked "very good", and receiving a vague "just like it" reason for viewing it. The distinctiveness of the satisfactions a show provides affects the degree to which the show is remembered at all, and also liked. Further, the correlation between a show's rank on realism and it receiving a vague "just like it" designation was -.58 (p .05, one tailed).

As Figure I illustrates, all media serve to validate a person's sense of reality. This is conceptualized as an ongoing need. Satisfactions $S_1 \ldots S_n$ lead to greater recall, higher ratings, and larger audiences. Greater recall, in turn, leads to higher ratings, and fewer "just like it" responses.

Such a model is only one of possible interpretations. The marginal significance of the correlations and the small sample size render all these interpretations tentative. The model may serve a useful heuristic value, in that it accounts for the salience of the realism dimension in evaluating and remembering the satisfactions derived from viewing television fare. Future research can refine and fill out the unanswered questions.

Black Public Affairs Programs

In order to understand better why people tune in to the shows they do, we set up a choice situation to get an idea of how the average Black viewer goes about choosing a program from a number of offerings. In particular, confirmation for the model might be provided if people indicate one of the things they'd like to see more of, are public affairs shows focusing on real problems facing Black communities.

In short, we wanted to know if Black people would watch shows that would validate their reality definitions if placed in competition with typical television fare. Also, we wanted to determine just who would choose Black shows, and who would choose typical white programming.

As Table VI shows, respondents were asked to make a choice between a hypothetical television special and well-known fare, a stern test of the drawing power of truly Black shows.

The unpopularity of the political program might in part be due to the fact that Congressman Ron Dellums does not represent Richmond, Calif., but an adjoining district. Almost thirty percent of respondents designated the Dellums show as the least preferred choice among Mannix and Tony Orlando.

Demographic data taken at the end of the interview allowed some cross tabulations about persons who did choose Black public affairs shows.

Table VI here

TABLE VI

Black Public Affairs Specials Pitted Against Typical Fare

Question: ...the new season on T.V. is starting. The thing we're trying to find out is how people decide which shows to watch. If all these shows were scheduled to be on at exactly the same time, which one would you probably watch. "All in the Family", "Waltons", or a T.V. special on "Health Problems in the Black Community?"

	Show	Percent
First	All in the Family	9
	The Waltons	9
	Health/Black Community	82
Second	Let's Make a Deal	19
	Black Employment	63
	Network News	18
Third	Today in Politics/Cong. Ron Dellums	47
	Mannix	42
	Tony Orlando	13

Question

"If the choice were these three, which would you choose?"

Health Problems	51
Employment	39
Dellums/Politics	10

PRECENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS HAVING PREFERENCE FOR BLACK PUBLIC AFFAIR PROGRAMMING BY OCCUPATION

TABLE VII

OCCUPATION

Preference	unemployed*	employed	
High	30 (10)	37 (19)	23% (19)
Medium	30 (10)	47 (24)	41% (34)
Low	39 (13)	16 (18)	25 (21)
	100% (33)	100% (51)	100% (84)

Chi Square = 6.17 $p = < .05$

C = .26

*Defined as not being employed outside the home (e.g., housewives, students). The point was to discriminate on the basis of having free access to viewing television at will.

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENT, HAVING PREFERENCE FOR BLACK PUBLIC AFFAIR PROGRAMMING BY AVERAGE VIEWING

TABLE VIII

AVERAGE VIEWING

Preference	high	medium	low	
high	14% (4)	13% (4)	52% (12)	24% (20)
medium	48 (14)	43 (13)	30 (7)	42 (34)
low	38 (11)	43 (13)	17% (4)	34 (28)
	100% (29)	100% (30)	100% (23)	100% (82)

Chi Square = 11.52 p = <.05

C = .35

Persons who were employed outside the home were much more likely to respond favorably to the Black public affairs offerings than their unemployed neighbors. Similarly, as Tables VII and VIII show, persons who viewed a lot of television were significantly less likely to prefer the public affairs choices. A re-analysis of responses to a series of questions about respondent's attitudes toward extant community problems provides a measure of their racial attitudes. For purposes of rough classification, respondents who indicated a significant problem facing the Richmond Black community was the racism permeating the city, or that a significant problem was the lack of Black unity, were judged "aware." All others were scored non-aware.

As Table IX shows, those judged "aware" were more interested in viewing shows concerned with problems affecting the Black community. Also, those more aware were more interested in viewing a show featuring a national Black leader, Ron Dellums, even though he was not their congressman.

Such results are consistent with the Clark (1972) formulation. Persons more aware are more likely to see typical television fare at variance with their reality definitions, and therefore chose to see a Black leader with whom they identify. Results are consistent with the model discussed earlier, as well.

Table IX here

Violence and Vulnerability

One question in the survey assessed viewers attitudes towards the level of violence exhibited in television fare. Approximately fifty percent of the females in the sample agreed with national trends (e.g., San Francisco Examiner, 1976) favoring a reduction in the level of graphic violence on

TABLE IX

Awareness and Black Public Affairs Choices

	Black Choices 0,1	 2,3	
Aware	4	11	15
Non-Aware	14	14	28
Total	18	25	43

$X^2 = 2.19$ $p<.10$

(b)

Awareness and Black Politics Choice

	Chose Dellum	Chose Other	
Aware	11	4	15
Non-Aware	11	17	28
	22	21	43

$X^2 = 5.33$ 1df,$p<.05$

television.

Response to this open ended question showed many women expressed a concern that children would learn violent behavior, that they would imitate what they saw, or that they did not like to see so much violence. In contrast, the men tended to disagree. Most males indicated "there's violence on television, yes. But the world is violent. And I don't want my son to be ignorant of how violent it is out there."

Such results, even with the small sample involved, fuels speculation that the men perceive themselves vulnerable to violence in the society. They feel their children need to be aware of that vulnerability rather than ignorant of it. Such attitudes are probably transmitted to the child via verbal and nonverbal approval of violent television fare. Since recent research has consistently pointed to the role of parents in mediating the effects of exposure to violent television, the implications for greater Black acceptance of television's messages are clear. Future research should be directed toward explicating the role of parents' perceived vulnerability to violence, how that perception is communicated to children, and the problem-solving strategies employed by such children. The most consistent finding in television research is that all of the heroes are violent. They all solve their problems with violence rather than negotiation. There may be a direct line between accepting television's models for problem solving strategies and the innumerable Saturday night violent solutions to minor quarrels in Black communities.

The Black community can ill afford to emulate the "Bang! Bang!" mentality prevalent on television. Research should focus on finding ways to teach parents how to neutralize those messages, and teach constructive problem solving strategies in their place.

APPENDIX

THE SAMPLE PLAN FOR THE RICHMOND PILOT STUDY

The area chosen for conducting the small 1975 field test is unique in its isolation from other Black communities. Even so, we did not attempt to measure those communication parameters which might be affected by geographical isolation (e.g., peer group/mass communication patterns). It was thought, nevertheless, that the homogeneity apparent in Richmond would minimize confounding analyses in even this small-sample 1975 study.

Because of the lack of reliable information on current residence listings in Richmond, the sample scheme there relied on gross racial/location data from the 1970 U.S. Census. We made the arbitrary decision to define the population sampled as that which resided in those census tracts where the proportion of Blacks (in 1970) was at least seventy percent. The area surrounding central Richmond included four such tracts; the total number of Blacks counted almost 18,000 in the previous census.

There were two basic inputs to the process of selecting households: the number of persons in the area and the median household size (3.6 persons). We planned for a sample pool of some 250 units. This led to establishing an interval of 20 in what then amounted to a straightforward systematic sample of all population households. The contact procedures were consistent with today's field research standards.

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ED148944

The Thomas and Cross Models on Psychological Nigrescence: A Literature Review**

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Presented at the Third Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology

Cornell University October - 1976

** In press, JOURNAL OF BLACK PSYCHOLOGY

UD017661

The Thomas and Cross Models on Psychological Nigrescence: A Literature Review

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This paper summarizes the Thomas and Cross models on psychological nigrescence and reviews the empirical studies which have been conducted to validate these models. "Nigrescence" means the "process of becoming Black", and as the Thomas and Cross models attempt to depict the various stages Black Americans traversed in seeking a new identity during the late 1960's and early 1970's, the models in effect speak to the "psychology of the process of becoming Black." In the broader sense, these formulations focus on the human drama of adult identity transformation within the context of a social movement or "revitalization" movement (Wallace, 1970).

Thomas Model

The first model to be discussed was formulated by Charles W. Thomas, Ph.D., one of the founders of the Association of Black Psychologists and its first

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This paper was completed during the summer of 1976 while the author was a visiting scholar with the Institute for Comparative Human Development at Rockefeller University. A similar version of this work was the focus of a presentation at the Third Annual Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology held in Ithaca, New York during October of 1976.

president. From 1968 until the publication of his book, Boys No More in 1971, Thomas wrote almost exclusively about the psychology of nigrescence. His analysis begins with the introduction of the concept "negromachy" which, existentially speaking, is a form of mental illness that afflicted Black Americans before the onset of the Negro-to-Black movement:

> "...The identity change in Afro-Americans with the advent of becoming Black has the therapeutic gain of fostering a resynthesizing experience in people, who in many ways were mentally ill (emphasis added). W.E.B. Dubois was among the first to note this alienation in Afro-Americans, and the "twoness", that is, wanting to feel a part of society while being made to feel apart from it. Until that conflict is resolved it is virtually impossible to take a stand on any issue that affects one's security or survival. The removal of that constraining force allows for an existential restructuring of values that promote a more cogent self-concept." (Thomas, 1970; p.78)

Negromachy is defined by Thomas as that which is ruled by confusion of self-worth and shows dependency upon white society for definition of self:

> "Inherent in this concept of approval is the need to be accepted as something other than what one is. Gratification is based upon denial of self and a rejection of group goals and activities. The driving force behind this need requires Afro-Americans to seek approval from whites in all activities, to use white expectations as the yard stick for determining what is good, desirable or necessary. Any indication of rejection by or hostility from whites results in these Afro-Americans changing their pattern of actions, even when the individual hurts himself and others of his people. Such brothers and sisters become parasites who are undemanding and content with little or nothing. They prefer to have goal-

summarized his model during an interview which was published by Psychology Today in the September, 1970 issue:

> "Through our consultants we have been able to identify about five stages that people go through in affirming their blackness. When you find a brother who wastes all his time rapping on whitey, you know he's at the first stage. As he moves on to the second stage he is testifying to all the pain he has endured because he has contributed to the process of denying the self. Another part of the second stage is learning to express his anxieties about becoming black; he gets confused as to whether this step has to include burning down the city or grabbing a gun. In the third stage we get into information processing on the cultural heritage, not only the African background but the black contribution to our homeland, America. You go out of this stage into activity, working through a particular group to find linkage to the larger black experience. You now live in the larger black experience. You now live in the black world. The fifth stage is transcendental through your unique blackness you lose your hangups about race, age, sex and social class and see yourself as a part of humanity in all its flavors."

If a successful identity change is to take place, the person must accept the necessity of temporary isolation. Upon withdrawal, the individual enters the first stage which is earmarked by a need to "rap on whitey". It is a confusing period for the individual for he is not only releasing tension against his oppressor but he is also trying to gain a clear picture of the dynamics of negromachy. The second requires confessions and testimonies about one's personal struggle for black identity. Tensions and anxieties associated with the "new self" are only natural and the individual needs consensus concerning what is appropriate "black" behavior. The next stage involves joining a social action

> directed actions that fit into adoptive patterns, which will not be criticized by whites." (Thomas & Thomas, 1971, p. 104).

The Afro-American suffering from negromachy is said to exhibit attributes of compliance, subserviance, repressed rage, and an over sensitivity to racial issues. Furthermore, the "white is right" attitude maintains, protects and enhances lifestyles that eventually lead to denial of self, and in some cases, denial of reality (Thomas and Thomas, 1971).

For Thomas, negromachy is overcome by seeking a racial identity which in turn becomes a conduit for discovering one's unity with mankind. The self-determination of a person's racial identity requires that Blacks suspend contacts with other groups and temporarily withdraw for the purpose of defining their ethnic boundaries and internal role models:

> "...Firmness of identity demands action in the sense of accomplishment with standards that are important to the referent social groups of which one is a member. Therapeutic intervention of self-hood is effective when the deviance is handled through physical removal or social isolation. Control of self through voluntary withdrawal to bring about an understanding of the self is necessary if activities are to have a creative quality that develops emotional, social and intellectual strengths. The outcome generates a source of power that facilitates conflict resolution at succeeding levels of operation. This need for balance of oneness between self and larger social units through voluntary withdrawal by people banding together to share some common goal experience holds for groups of people just as it does for an individual." (Thomas & Thomas, 1971, pp. 108-109)

Actually, the period of withdrawal marks but one stage of a model Thomas formulated to describe the psychological metamorhasis of Blacks. Thomas group that will help the individual actualize his new identity through actions. Implied in the activities of the action stage is the necessity to internalize one's new sense of Blackness, and Thomas' analysis of internalization distinguishes between emergent and internalized Blackness. The emergence of Black identity is "akin to one's first sexual encounter or a deep religious conversion where the entire ecstatic range of human emotions is called into play. It is almost as if one is alive for the first time (Thomas, 1971)." On the other hand, Thomas' discussion of internalization, which will be presented shortly, refers to a person who is relaxed, calm and less ego-involved.

> "Until there is internalization of the newer personal identity and a loss of self-consciousness about the black experience as the basis for action, self-control tends to be verbal in nature. At this level of involvement references are to self and the blackness or relevance of others is challenged. Typical statements include, 'I am Blacker than you,' 'I was Black first,' 'Man that rhetoric will be going on even when they come to get us,' or, 'Where is the action?' These expressions of trivia keep involvement at a minimal level. However, as involvement increases, there is a corresponding decrease in self-consciousness about one's blackness. Verbal responses and lines of action do not feed upon the negation of brothers and sisters." (Thomas & Thomas, 1971, p. 106)

In addition to the decrease in self-consciousness about one's blackness, Thomas (1971) has also suggested that persons who have incorporated a new sense of self tend to (1) set goals higher than those achieved or thought possible in the past; (2) have a clearer understanding of where they want to go in life on the basis of resources that are actually available; (3) have an increased capacity to respond and act in a variety of situations, as stereotypic defensive patterns are replaced by creativeness, calmness and flexibility; finally,

(4) they tend to be capable of more extensive self-criticism and self-evaluation which results in a standard of self that is clearly demarcated in one consciousness. Thomas places considerable emphasis on this last point for he believes that the more clearly the self is demarcated in one's consciousness, the more capable is the person of performing well under adverse conditions. More specifically, the stress of racism (being told you are inferior) is lessened for now one has an internal standard to evaluate personal attributes and actions.

Thomas is careful to note that blackness involves more than a positive feeling of self; it also includes assertive behavior within a social context. Upon gaining awareness, the Afro-American assaults oppressive conditions and institutions that brought about the necessity for a search for black identity in the first place (Thomas & Thomas, 1971).

Internalization of the Black identity marks the end of the need for self-imposed social isolation and the person is now ready to re-negotiate contacts with people from other reference groups. In this final stage, one discovers unity with mankind, transcending the barriers of age, sex, religion and race (Thomas, 1970). In his writings, Thomas has not given a detailed account of how the ethnic and humanist identities are bridged.

Thomas is not as lucid as might be suggested by the above summary. While the general outline of his model is easily comprehended, the details and nuances of each stage are unclear. At times his writing reflects a shot gun approach in that all the important components of Black identity change are scattered about in articles which do not follow any particular plan, and the reader is left with the task of giving order to his impressions. For example, Thomas has excellent discussions about "blacker-than-thou" attitudes, the affective dimension of discovering Blackness (oceanic or peak period), the differences between emergent and internalized Blackness; however, seldom does he attempt to show the connection between these important elements of the identity change process and the stages of his model. Nonetheless, the serious student of Black identity change should read all of Thomas' essays for they are pregnant with rich, sensitive, provocative and insightful comments about the agony, frustration and joy of psychological nigrescence.

The Cross Model

Working independently of Thomas, the author of this review constructed a descriptive model of the stages Black people recently traversed in their search for a "new" Black identity. The model appeared in the July-1971 issue of *Black World*, a periodical that is now out of print; however, it has been reprinted in a work edited by Ladner(1973). An earlier and slightly different version appeared in a text by Dixon and Foster(1971) but the quotes that follow are all taken from the *Black World* essay which was entitled "The Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience". The essay outlines a model that consists of five stages: (1) Pre-encounter; (2) Encounter; (3) Immersion-Emersion; (4) Internalization and (5) Internalization-Commitment.

Pre-encounter: This stage describes the nature of the old identity or frame of reference to be changed. A state of deracination is said to transcend class distinctions within the Black community, making potential converts of the poor and the middle-class.

> "The person's world view is dominated by Euro-American determinants. The sociological, political, cultural and psychological conditions that result from this world view are the same for both lower and middle-class Black people. That is to say, the content of the pre-liberation Black experience within the class system differs but the context is similar since both think, act and behave in a manner that degrades Blackness. Thus, putting lye on your hair as opposed to getting it cut in an 'Ivy Leagu

> fashion (content) are different styles of Black degradation (context)/(pp. 16-19)."

Encounter: As the Negro has been socialized to accept a deracinated frame of reference, it therefore follows that (1) the person will tend to feel comfortable with the Negro worldview and (2) the person will be resistant if not hostile to information that contests major components of the old frame of reference. The "encounter stage" describes a shocking personal or social event that temporarily dislodges the person from his old worldview, making the person receptive (vulnerable) to a new interpretation of his identity and his condition.

> "Encounter entails two steps: first, experiencing the encounter and second, beginning to reinterpret the world as a consequence of the encounter. The second part is a testing phase during which the individual cautiously and fearfully tries to validate his new perceptions (p. 17)."

When the person absorbs enough information and receives enough social support to conclude that (1) the old identity seems inappropriate and (2) the proposed new identity is highly attractive, the person throws caution to the wind and begins a frantic, determined, obsessive extremely motivated search for Black identity. At the end of the encounter stage the person is not Black yet, but he/she has made the decision to become Black.

Immersion-Emersion: This stage encompasses the most sensational aspects of Black identity development, the vortex of psychological metamorphosis, the period of transition in which the struggle to destroy all vestiges of the "old" perspective occurs simultaneously with an equally intense concern to clarify the personal implications of the "new" frame of reference. The person's level of Blackness is high, but the degree of internalization of the new identity is minimal. This period of emergent identity or "just discovered Blackness" is manifested in the construction of the correct ideology and/or worldview, glorification of African heritage, either/or thinking, blacker-than-thou attitudes, unrealistic expectations concerning the efficacy of Black Power, and the tendency to denigrate White people and White culture while simultaneously deifying Black people and Black culture. Euphoria, rage, inordinate amounts of artistic and/or political energy, perturbation, effrontery, high risk taking, a destructive mood in constant tension with dreams of revitalization and an intense sense of intimacy toward Black life also characterize behavior in this stage.

While the first phase involves total immersion and withdrawal into Blackness, the second part of Stage Three is emergence from the reactionary, either/or and racist aspects of the immersion experience. In effect, the person's emotion begin to level off and psychological defensiveness is replaced by affective and cognitive openness which allows the person to begin to be more critical in his analysis. The strengths and weaknesses of Blackness can now be sorted out as the person is no longer "ego-involved. The person begin to feel in greater control of himself as the most difficult period of nigrescence comes to an end.

Internalization: This stage signals the resolution of conflicts between the "old" and "new" worldviews. Tension, emotionality, and defensiveness are replaced by a calm, secure demeanor. Ideological flexibility, psychological openness and self-confidence about one's Blackness are evident in interpersonal transactions. Anti-white feelings decline to the point where friendships with White associates can be re-negotiated. While still using Blacks as a primary reference group, the person moves toward a pluralistic non-racist perspective.

> "Assuming the person is able to continue his development, it follows that as a brother or sister begins to "live" in accordance with a new self-image, he or she will eventually become the new identity. The shift is from concern about how your friends see you to confidence in one's personal standards of Blackness; from uncontrolled rage toward White people

to controlled anger toward oppressive and racist institutions; from symbolic rhetoric to quiet, dedicated, long-term commitment; from unrealistic urgency to a sense of destiny; from anxious, insecure, rigid, inferiority feelings to Black pride, self-love and a deep sense of Black communalism. As internalization and incorporation increase, attitudes toward White people become less hostile, or at least realistically contained, Weusi Anxiety diminishes, and pro-Black attitudes become more expansive, open, and less defensive (p. 24)."

Internalization-Commitment: Here a distinction is made between persons who have simply internalized the new identity but discontinue involvement in the movement (development levels off at stage four), and those who continue to be social activists. This "ideal person" has not only incorporated the new identity but is struggling to translate personal identity into activities that are meaningful to the group. The model does not clarify whether it is possible to move directly from stage three into stage five. However, implicit in the distinction between "internalization" and "internalization-commitment" is the proposition that in order for Black identity change to have lasting political significance, the "self"(me or "I") must become or continue to be involved in the resolution of problems shared by the "group" (we).

Comparison of Two Models

Except for the fact that each model contains five stages, they are not as similar as one might expect. The Thomas Model begins at the point where the person has already begun to change; consequently, it does not incorporate stages that are similar to the first two stages of the Cross Model (Pre-encounter and Encounter). While the Cross Model has only one "transition" stage (Immersion-Emersion), Thomas' scheme has four (stage one through four). Only the fifth stage of each model are somewhat alike.

Although the models are significantly different, it is obvious that the two scholars share a common frame of reference. Both place considerable importance on understanding the dynamics of the Negro personality and/or worldview (Thomas' concept of Negromachy/Cross' Pre-encounter stage); the need for temporary withdrawal into Blackness (first four stages of the Thomas Model/Immersion-Emersion state of Cross Model); and each ends with an analysis of internalization.

Perhaps it would be more correct to state that the Thomas "frame of reference" and the Cross Model are quite similar while the Thomas Model per se is not as comprehensive a statement about the nigrescence process as is the case of the Cross Model. This may help to explain why in the empirical studies reviewed below, Thomas' work was generally cited in the "literature review" or "discussion" sections whereas the Cross Model was the actual focus of the research process. Be that as it may, in avoiding the awkward phrase "Thomas' frame of reference", throughout this paper Thomas' ideas are identified as "The Thomas Model".

Empirical Studies

In this section, empirical studies which have been generated by The Thomas and Cross Models will be reviewed (Hall, Cross and Freedle, 1972; Milliones, 1973; Krate, Leventhal and Silverstein, 1974; Cross, 1974; Harrison, 1974; Davidson, 1974; Williams, 1975; Cross, 1976).

Hall, Cross and Freedle (1972) sought to test the consensual validity of the Cross Model. Twenty-eight single sentence statements suggested by Cross as representing the different beliefs and activities indicative of the Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization stages were typed on separate 3 x 5 inch index cards and presented to subjects for sorting. Ninety white and ninety Black college students were used as subjects with an equal number of males and females in each racial sub-group. The investigators assumed that Black college students have had close contact with people associated with each stage of Black identity development, while White students were incorporated to determine the extent to which persons outside of the movement are cognizant of the movement's dynamics. Each subject was assigned to one of three experimental conditions which differed in the amount of freedom a subject was allowed in sorting the twenty-eight item deck. In condition "A", subjects were simply asked to cluster items into piles that pinpointed key phases in a person's search for a new identity, the subject being allowed to devise as many clusters as he felt necessary to complete the task. In condition "B", subjects had to cluster the items into four unmarked clusters, while condition "C" required the sorting of items into four small boxes each of which was labeled according to the stages of Cross Model. The results indicated that (1) under less restrained conditions, three or four clusters were used, with no two cluster sorts reported; (2) whether using unmarked or marked categories, subjects sorted the deck in a similar fashion; (3) under all conditions, subjects sorted the items in a sequence that replicated the stages in the Cross Model; (4) there was a pronounced tendency for White subjects to perceive the stages in much the same manner as the Black students, although a few significant differences between Blacks and Whites in response to particular items were noted. The investigators concluded that the results support the plausibility of Cross" hypothesis concerning the existence of sequential stages in the development of Black awareness.

Cross (1974) conducted a study of the retrospective interpretation of the experiences traversed during acquisition of Black identity as recalled by Black college students who recently experienced the Negro-to-Black identity shift. In setting forth his hypotheses, Cross argued that a person in the final stage of Black identity development when asked to reflect on his recent psychological journey will relate a story that suggests the operation of a multi-stage process. For use in the study, a fifty-five item "stages" questionnaire was constructed consisting of ten filler items and items representing the following stages: (1) Pre-encounter; (2) Immersion-Emersion; (3) Internalization. The study did not focus on who or what influenced the person to change; consequently, items were not generated for the Encounter Stage. Each item depicted a personal attribute, fantasy or behavior pattern that was written in the first person-present tense. A respondent was instructed to read each statement and reflect for a moment as to whether or not it applied to a description of himself in the present tense as well as for the following periods: 1964-65; 1966-67; 1968-69; 1970-71; 'future' (the study was conducted in 1972, thus "present" was interpreted as 1972, and "future" meant beyond 1972). For example, item number twenty-three, an Immersion-Emersion attribute, stated: "I act in a rather Blacker-than-thou manner"; a repondent's answer indicated whether or not such a statement was descriptive of his bahavior in his immediate past, the present and the future.

The Stages Questionnaire was administered individually to each subject. A concurrent validity study was also conducted which consisted of the pre and post-test administration of a bi-polar (anger/calm) 40 item adjective chechlist. It was hoped that the adjective checklist data would show that relative to the description of themselves at the time of their participation in the study, the activists would perceive themselves as having been more angry and less calm during their immersion into Blackness. Thus, a session with each subject involved (1) the "pre-test" administration of the adjective checklist in which the subject was instructed to check only those adjectives that best describe what he/she is like most of the time; (2) the administration of the Stages Questionnaire; (3) brief interview in which the subject was asked to relate how he became involved in the Black Movement; and (4) the "post-test" administration of the adjective checklist in which the subject was instructed to reflect for a moment on the story he had just related in the interview and then using the checklist, check-off only those personal traits which best describe what he was like when he/she "first became involved in the Black Movement."

The subjects were 44 male and 21 female Afro-Americans who were upperclassmen and/or graduate students from two Ivy League universities. All of the subjects were "activists" in the Black student movement, and three judges assisted in bifurcating the sample into a "vanguard-militant" group (N=24) who were defined as leaders and/or extremely active members of militant organizations, and a "non-vanguard-militant" group (N=41) which consisted of non-leaders and less active militants.

Recall that for each item on the Stages Questionnaire, a subject indicated whether an attribute was descriptive of himself using a seven point scale in which a low score meant "this attribute does not describe me", the obverse being true the higher the score given an attribute. The repeated measure response technique incorporated in the Stages Questionnaire required an analysis of the trend of means for each cluster of stage-related items; a graphic summarization of the resulting trend for each stage has been reproduced as Figure I.

Insert Figure I about here

In general the results of the Stages Questionnaire indicated that the activists used items from the Pre-encounter attribute cluster to describe themselves before involvement in the Black Movement, while attributes from the Internalization sub-scale dominated self-descriptions that applied to the "present". The pattern of the Immersion-Emersion subscale clearly indicated that the activists perceived themselves as having experienced a "transition" state between the collapse of the old worldview and stabilization of the new identity. In effect, the student activists viewed themselves as having been deracinated Negroes in the past, they reported traversing an evanescent Black militancy period, and currently they saw themselves as having "mellowed."

Using the pattern of the Immersion-Emersion Stage as a measure of "perceived intensity of the militancy episode" (the higher the score associated with the apex of the Immersion-Emersion curve, the higher the perceived intensity of militancy), the results showed that persons who occupied positions of leadership (vanguard militants) did not perceive themselves as having experienced a more intense militancy period (Immersion-Emersion Stage) than was the case for activists who did not hold leadership positions (non-vanguard militants). On the other hand, male activists did report a more intense Immersion-Emersion episode than did the female activists, a finding which may have reflected a possible sex bias (Black "male" militant perspective) in the items incorporated by the Immersion-Emersion attribute cluster. Sex was not a significant factor in the findings related to the other stages. The concurrent validation study supported the results of the Stage Questionnaire. Overall, the study was said to demonstrate that Black students admit having once exhibited attributes which are now antithetical to their current self-image and make reference to short-lived, diaphanous, emotionally saturated attributes which were not a part of the old self-image and were experienced as having "dissolved" as the new identity was internalized.

In a study somewhat similar to the one just reviewed, Krate, Leventhal and Silverman (1974) had Black College students rate personal statements in accordance with how they (a) retrospectively viewed themselves, (b) presently view themselves, and (c) projectively will view themselves. The researchers noted that a major short coming of the Hall, Freedle and Cross (1972) study was that it used

Black college students from Princeton University who were more likely atypical of the Black American population (actually, this criticism applies to the study by Cross (1974) as well). They went on to say:

> "If one wishes to infer any relationship between the changing social climate in the United States in recent years and to measure transformation in identity of Black Americans, the subjects must be more representative of the Black population. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to assess change in identity among more typical urban low-income black youth,... (Krate, Leventhal and Silverstein, 1974; p. 1072)."

For their study the subjects consisted of 25 male and female low income urban Black college students selected at random from a Northern New Jersey State College. The experimenters were 4 Black students from the same college.

Twenty-seven of the 28 items on indentity devised by Hall, Cross and Freedle were recast into first-person statements, and each item was typed on a separate 3 x 5 inch card. The stack of 27 cards was presented to each subject individually in random order. Subject's rated the items on a 4-point scale along the continuum from "most to least like me", and four time sorts were made in this Q-fort fashion. The items were sorted by subjects in accordance with (1) how they viewed themselves "now"; (2) four years ago (3) two years ago, and (4) how they expect to view themselves in the "future".

The results indicated that sex was not significant for any of the sorts; therefore, the data were pooled for all subjects to examine the distribution of "most like me" responses across the variables of stage and time. Subjects demonstrated clear self-perception of a transition away from being in the Pre-encounter stage in the past to portraying themselves as being in the Internalization stage "now" and in the "future". Krate et al concluded:

> "Although the data are limited to self-perceived personal changes among 50 Northern black college students, some of which were retrospective

> from a present frame of reference, they suggest a shift away from a perceived past Negro identity toward a perceived present and future black identity. This self-perceived change is congruent with the overall direction of changes in black American consciousness phenomenologically described by Thomas....and Cross..."

Two attempts (Harrison, 1974; Milliones, 1973) have been made to construct developmental inventories based on the Thomas and Cross Models. Harrison (1974) reported that she was unable to develop a reliable and valid instrument due to an inability to control for social desirability saturation on Pre-encounter and Internalization items. Reliable Immersion-Emersion items were developed which helped cluster subjects into three groups: (1) subjects who scored high on both the Pre-encounter and Internalization scales but disassociated themselves from Immersion-Emersion items were called "I-E rejectors"; (2) subjects who scored high on Immersion-Emersion items were seen as being in a state of transition; and (3) subjects who scored low on the Pre-encounter scale, high on Internalization and showed moderate affiliation with Immersion-Emersion items were thought to be "authentic" internalizers. Harrison defended her classification scheme by noting that I-E rejecting subjects preferred the labels "Negro" or "American", while the authentic internalizers preferred being called Black, African or Afro-American. Persons positioned in the "transition" state used both sets of identity labels.

Milliones' (1973) elegant and methodologically thorough study resulted in the successful construction of the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness (DIBC) that delineates the various stages of Black identity development as articulated in the Cross and Thomas Models. Construction of the DIBC involved creation of a one hundred and sixty item pool. Assignment of items to stages was based upon consensus among three judges, items being judged, eliminated or rewritten until forty items were agreed upon for each state (Pre-encounter/Immersion-Emersion/Internalization/Internalization-Commitment). Milliones' justification for eliminating the Encounter Stage was that the length of time one experiences the encounter phenomena is likely to be minimal, and, hence, its measurement unreliable. The subjects consisted of one hundred and sixty Black freshmen and sophomore males from a southern Black college. Along with the DIBC, each subject was administered a twenty item social desirability scale and a sixty item "Nadanolization Scale". The Nadanolization Scale was designed to measure the degree of internalization by Blacks of stereotypic attitudes traditionally assumed by whites in reference to Blacks.

Four operations were used to evaluate the DIBC item pool, and an item was eliminated when it failed to meet any of the selection criteria which were applied in the following sequence: (1) test of item discrimination; (2) test of homogenity; (3) test for social desirability saturation and (4) test of divergent validity i.e., a test that each item measures more of the stage for which it was written than for which it was not written. Sixty-six of the original one hundred and sixty items survived the process: twenty-two Pre-encounter items, twenty-six Immersion-Emersion items, nine Internalization items and nine items for the Internalization-Commitment Stage. The results of the construct validation study (Nadanolization Scale) were consistent with the view that as Black identity progressively unfolds, there is a corresponding relinguishment of internalized white stereotypes of the (Black) self. In summarizing his results Milliones remarked that as one becomes more conscious and accepting of Blackness, there is the simultaneous extrusion of internalized negative self-references as well as a more objective and rational appraisal of white people i.e., increased Black awareness acts as a conduit to a more humanistic and universal worldview.

Davidson(1974) sought to provide evidence that Black college students nominated as "active" in Black affairs would score significantly higher on a measure of Black awareness than students who were "non-active". A pool of one hundred and four items were generated that provided a behavioral index of Black student identification with and participation in Black student organizations. Using established methodologies for constructing and refining an attitude scale, a twenty item "Black Group Identification Index (BGII)" was developed, with a reported reliability coefficient of .73. Concurrent validity was demonstrated through the "known group" procedure involving a comparison between twenty active and non-active students, nomination and placement of subjects made in accordance to the judgments of a select group of Black faculty and staff members. The results indicated that (1) the active group scored significantly higher on the BGII than the non-active students; (2) increases in the level of Black group identification paralled increases in the degree of participation in Black student affairs; (3) the items validated for the BGII appear to be closely related to the continuum of stages in the Cross Model. With regard to this last point, Davidson's comments are worth noting in detail:

> "The items for the final scale present behavioral indices of black group identification. These items appear to be closely related to the continuum or stages in the process of the Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience (Cross, 1971). In his pre-encounter stage, the white aesthetic prevails and preference is toward white expression in social and academic interactions. In the Black Group Identification Index, the items at the low end of the scale are (69) 'I serve on a Committee in SGA;' (39) 'I am a member or a pledgee of a white sorority or fraternity;' and (79) 'I am a member of an integrated social group,' indicating an orientation toward white interaction. In Cross' internalization and last stage, the individual focuses on things other than himself and participates in the community for purposes of making it better. Items scaled at the high end of the Black Group Identification Index reflect these group oriented actions:

> (86) 'I tutor other Black students;' and (29) 'I vote in Black Student Union elections.' This finding supports the hypotheses of an identity transformation that is on a continuum with identification with whites at the low end and active participation and identification with blacks at the upper end. Further research would be important to confirm or cross-validate Cross' findings(Davidson, 1974; p. 75)."

Perhaps the single most important study on the Cross Model has been conducted by Williams (1975) and it will now be discussed in considerable detail. Generally speaking, Williams sought to devise an interview schedule which could be used in the isolation of the stage development of Black awareness for a given individual. Furthermore, he attempted to validate the stage construct by testing the relationship of stage position to various attitudes, values and beliefs as measured by psychometric instruments and which are predicted by the Cross Model.

Williams' subjects were 57 Black Americans ranging in age from eighteen to forty-five, including 30 females and 27 males. Subjects were drawn from a sample of Black graduate and undergraduate students (one-third of sample) and Black doctors, nurses, social workers, and nurses aides (the remaining two-thirds).

Each subject first received an indepth one-on-one interview conducted and taped by Williams. For the interviews, Williams designed an open-ended interview schedule based on the twenty-eight stage related descriptive statements developed by Cross for the Hall, Freedle and Cross (1972) study. Following the interview, each subject completed a form that incorporated (1) an anti-black scale, (2) an anti-white scale, (3) several self-esteem scales and (4) the Gurin version of the Rotter internal-external locus of control scale. The interviews, which were taped, were evaluated by twelve trained judges for the purpose of determining each subject's stage position i.e., Pre-encounter; Encounter; Immersion-Emersion and Internalization.

The results indicated that Stage I (Pre-encounter) subjects had a strong anti-black bias, perceived other Blacks as not trustworthy, and they did not see being Black as an important part of their lives. Not one person from this stage was a member of a "Black" organization and their worldview incorporated the belief that Black people, and not the system, was to blame for the "Black situtation." Not surprisingly, these subjects had the lowest anti-white score and turned away from "militant" and/or "all black" strategies for racial change.

The Encounter Stage (Stage II) marks the point where the person is beginning" to feel and act in a manner that anticipates but does not completely match the behavior of a person in Stage III. Williams' results tended to support such an assertion for in general, the profile of the typical Stage II person depicted a more restrained version of the one associated with Stage III; consequently, it would make sense to simply move to a discussion of the results he reported for Stage III.

Persons in the Immersion-Emersion Stage (State III) peaked on most dimensions of the pro-black scale, rated being Black as an important part of their lives, thought positively about fellow Blacks, and about 75% of them were active members of Black organizations. In addition, Immersion-Emersion subjects "demonstrated significantly more anti-white sentiments, were more angry at whites for discrimination experienced by Blacks and had more fantasies about killing whites than subjects from any other stage." Whether discussing their pro-black or anti-white attitudes, Stage III subjects seemed more emotionally aroused than subjects from the other stages. Stage III subjects had a "system blame" perspective and were more militant and protest oriented than subjects at other stages of development (including Stage IV).

Internalization subjects (Stage IV) had pro-black attitudes that were higher that Stage I subjects but lower than was the case for Stage III persons.

Their attitudes toward fellow Blacks were positive but not uncritical. They were more critical of whites than was the case of persons at Stage I; however, their critique of society was more rational and less emotional than the supercharged somewhat racist anti-white bias reported for the subjects in State III. They shared the "system blame" orientation of the Immersion-Emersion types but were not as militant.

The two measures of self-esteem indicated a tendency toward higher self-esteem with advanced stages of development, but neither measure reached acceptable levels of statistical significance.

From an analysis of the interview data it was clearly evident that subjects in the advanced stage perceived themselves as having traversed Pre-encounter and Immersion-Emersion experiences before reaching Internalization. In general, the results of the study indicated a developmental pattern in which a person moved from a position of low regard for Black people in Stage I, ..."to a position of conflict in State II to an extreme position of exaggerated racial pride and white rejection in Stage III, finally to a realistic leveling off of views about self, other Blacks, whites and society at large (Williams, 1975, pp. 75-76)."

Williams cautioned about generalizing his findings to all sectors of the Black Community for while age was not a significant factor in his results, sex, occupation and level of education were significant. He found (1) a disproportionate number of females in Stage I; (2) a disproportionate number of males in Stage II; (3) a disproportionate number of Stage IV subjects fell in the occupational category "college student", and (4) subjects in Stage I had significantly less education than subjects in other stages. Speaking to the last two points (3 & 4), Williams noted the following:

> "....This suggests that development of Black consciousness is somewhat confounded by educational level. Most of the subjects in Stages II through

> IV who described what caused their changes in Black consciousness, attributed a great deal to the "Black Movement' of the late 60's and reported reading a great deal of and about the Black leaders of that time. It is very plausible that being a part of a higher educational process at the time facilitated the personal, intellectual and emotional exploration of the issues involved in Black consciousness. Further research needs to be conducted to determine the relationship between educational level and the development of Black consciousness(Williams, 1975; pp. 76-77)."

Elsewhere (Cross, 1976), it was pointed out that several prominent investigators of the Black Movement (Kilson, 1973; Sowell, 1972) view the recent change in Black identity as the struggle to move from being a "Negro" to becoming a "Black Militant", whereas another interpretation, notably that offered by the Cross and Thomas Models, sees the change as symbolized by at least three and certainly not two stereotypic-images: (1) the Negro (2) the Black Militant and (3) the mellow Black, representing the Pre-encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization episodes, respectively. Furthermore, these three stereotypic images may be linked in the minds of Black people to three "process" images of (a) the person who has not discovered Blackness (b) the person who has just discovered Blackness and (c) the person who has been Black for some time.

> "...knowledge about the 'Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience' is often organized around certain stereotypic and non-stereotypic images for the Pre-encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization Stages of the Cross Model. It seems logical that the Encounter Stage would not present an anchor point upon which to organize information as movement from the encounter phenomena to the Immersion-Emersion episode is quite rapid. To the common observer, a person is probably seen as moving from Pre-encounter to Immersion-Emersion. Similarly, while the differences

> between persons in stages four and five may be apparent to a highly sophisticated observer such as a clinical or developmental psychologist, to the untrained observer, probably only one image will be ascribed to the last two stages (Cross, 1976; p. 53)."

With the above assumptions in mind, two experiments were conducted by Cross(1976) which attempted to determine whether (1) Black people actually do organize their knowledge about Black identity development around the three stereotypic and process images, and that (2) the two sets of images (stereotypic and process) are actually two different ways of depicting the same phenomenon, notably the Pre-encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization episodes of Black identity development.

In the first experiment, single-paragraph descriptions that characterized persons in different phases of Black identity development were elicited from 120 Black American college students, each subject accounting for the production of one characterization. Half of the subjects wrote descriptions in response to minimal cues that suggested varying degrees of Black identity development, and the other half producded paragraphs in response to minimal stereotypic cues. The stereotypic cues called for descriptions of three classes of people: (1) the typical Negro; (2) the typical Black militant and (3) a person who has internalized Blackness. The corresponding non-stereotypic or "process" cues attempted to elicit characterizations of persons who have (1) not discovered Blackness; (2) just discovered Blackness and (3) been Black for some time. Table 1 is a key to the cues used to elicit the data.

Insert Table I about here

To assess whether the stereotypic and process batches of descriptions each contained three classes of people, another group of 180 Black American college students acted as independent judges in a paragraph comparison experiment. The experiment involved comparing two paragraphs elicited from a common stimulus statement with one description generated by a different stimulus statement, each subject performing six such comparisons. Subjects did not know about the origins of the descriptions, and their task was to identify the characterization which seem different in each subset of three. To determine whether special knowledge was necessary to complete the task, 120 of the subjects had read the Cross Model and 60 had not. The results confirmed that both the stereotypic and process batches of protocols included descriptions of the three relevant classes. Also, special knowledge did not seem necessary to evaluate the protocols for similarities and differences.

While the results of the first experiment confirmed the existence of three process and three stereotypic images, the next phase of the investigation focused on an empirical demonstration of the relationship between the two sets of images as well as the interface of the protocols with the stages of the Cross Model. Stated in another fashion, it remained to be seen that descriptions coded "Pre-encounter" elicited by stereotypic cues were in fact quite similar in content to the same class of protocols generated by process cues; the same question needing a response for the protocols coded "Immersion-Emersion" and "Internalization."

In the second experiment ten judges trained on the details of the Cross

Model, but naive to the origins of the paragraphs, classified each of the 120 paragraphs as being a characterization of a person in either the Pre-encounter, Immersion-Emersion or Internalization Stage. The results showed that (1) 90% of the paragraphs elicited by "the Negro" and "has not discovered Blackness" cues were correctly classified as Pre-encounter descriptions; (2) 87.5% of the "Black Militant" and "Just discovered Blackness" descriptions were catalogued as Immersion-Emersion representations and (3) 77.7% of the paragraphs generated by "accepted and internalized Blackness" and "has been Black for some time" were correctly classified as descriptions of people in the Internalization stage. The "Negro" and "not discovered his Blackness" descriptions included themes of shame in relation to being a member of the Negro race, limited knowledge of Black History, the desire to be dissociated from the Negro race and striving for social acceptance on terms dictated by white society. The "Black Militant" and "Just discovered his Blackness" paragraphs described persons who were cultural chauvinists, high risk takers, preoccupied with the discovery of the "current ideology" and/or "the right value system," analyzing events or persons from an "either/or" perspective, manifesting "blacker-than-thou" attitudes, and experiencing a new found sense of intimacy with everything Black. The paragraphs coded "accepted and internalized Blackness" and "has been Black for some time" presented the image of a person who was relaxed, confident, capable of self-criticism and whose ultra-nationalistic perspective was giving way to a move "inclusive" worldview. Obviously, these descriptors compliment the ones to be found in the Cross and Thomas Models. Taken together, the two experiments suggested that (1) Black college students perceive the new identity as developing through three rather than two stages, including a post-militancy phase; (2) the self-image of persons described as "internalizers" seemed to be informed but not dictated by Black militancy i.e., militancy as a point of reformulation rather than regression or stagnation and (3) the interpretation of the evolution of the new identity contained in the Thomas and Cross Models corresponds to the students' perception of psychological nigrescence.

Concluding Remarks

This literature review has attempted to summarize the descriptive models on psychological nigrescence by Thomas and Cross as well as to review the eight empirical studies that have been generated by these models. Before closing, the reviewer would like to convey a number of impressions that stem from his work on the review.

1. In the analysis of any identity transformation, researchers are interested in (a) how a person perceives change in himself/herself, and (b) an objective analysis of the person's personality, attitudes, ideology and behavior in order to determine the extent to which the person actually has changed. The "perception of change" seems to have been the dominant concern of the studies by Hall, Freedle and Cross (1972); Cross (1974), Harrison (1974), Krate, et. al (1974), and Cross (1976) while the studies by Williams (1975), Milliones (1973), and Davidson (1974) focused on the measurement of "real" change. Both the phenomenological and objective studies seem to confirm that Black identity has changed in stages similar to the one depicted in the Thomas and Cross Models.

2. The empirical studies reviewed here have certainly advanced our knowledge about the nature of the transition steps between the "old" and "new" Black identity. However, in placing more emphasis on the analysis of the process of becoming Black, the studies have not adequately discerned the structure, dynamics and functions of the new identity as it operates under "steady state" rather than change or crisis conditions. Nevertheless, the studies do give a few leads about what has been permanently changed, psychologically speaking, by the nigrescence process. More specifically, it is the opinion

of this observer that the empirical evidence points to the possibility that the conversion experience radically transformed the values, ideologies, reference group orientation or world view of Black people while leaving intact, or only moderately modifying, their self-concept or personality. It is certainly true that the personality profile of the person traversing the Immersion-mersion Stage was significantly different from those associated with either the Pre-encounter or Internalization Stage; however, empirical studies have shown that the Immersion-Emersion Stage was evanescent. But what about possible differences between people "before" and "after" conversion, or more specifically, between people in the Pre-encounter and Internalization Stages? Recall that in the study by Williams, he reported that subjects in the Internalization Stage had slightly higher self-concept scores than was the case for subjects in the Pre-encounter Stage. On the otherhand, Williams, along with most of the other researchers, commented on the dramatic change in world view or frame of reference that accompanied conversion. This suggests that people who began the conversion as "neurotic Negroes" emerged from the experience as "neurotic Blacks"; likewise, fairly well adjusted non-neurotic Negroes were well adjusted non-neurotic people with a new Black world view at the completion of their conversion. In a more general sense, if we could demonstrate that people can be depicted by X number of personality types, the point being expressed here is that the distribution of personality types for persons with either a "Negro" or "Black" world view would be practically the same. It should be emphasized that the possible distinction to be made between "personal identity" and "world view" has been noted by other scholars as well (Porter, 1970; McAdoo, 1970; Cross, 1973; Noel, 1964). Not that an answer shall be attempted at this time but an important question that logically arises is as follows: assuming for a moment that we had substantial evidence concerning the independence of the factors "personal identity" and "world view", then why did a change in world view require a temporary yet extremely dramatic change in personality as evidenced by behavior associated with the Immersion-Emersion Stage?

3. Most of the studies utilized college students as subjects and in the one study which incorporated a diversified sample, persons in the Internalization Stage had a higher level of education than subjects positioned in the Pre-encounter Stage. Yet, Malcolm X, who did not even complete high school, went through a conversion experience (Goldman, 1973), and many Black Panthers and Nationalists "came from the street". If anything, Malcolm X was a model for college students and not the other way around. Obviously, more research is needed to determine the relationship between Black identity change and education.

4. It is extremely important to remember that the models and studies analyzed here speak to the phenomenon of identity metamorphasis within the context of a social movement and not the evolution of identity from childhood through adult life. Conversions and social movements alter the identities that have evolved via traditional socialization experiences, and result in the production of new adult role models. As parents, the new role models raise their children not in terms of the conversion process, but according to traditional socialization schemes. What may prove to be of interest to students of child development is a study that seeks to isolate the similarities and differences in child rearing practices of persons positioned in the Pre-encounter and Internalization Stages.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the studies have produced three new research tools: Milliones' Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness(DIBC); Davidson's Black Group Identification Index(BGII) and Williams' interview schedule. Perhaps the incorporation of these instruments in future studies will allow researchers to make more sophisticated statements about issues related to the "psychology of nigrescence".

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Figure 1

Trend of Means for Pre-encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization Sub-Scales of Stages Questionnaire Showing Applicability of each Attribute Cluster To Self-Perceived Image of Self Over Time as Reported for all Ss(N=65) in a Study by Cross(1974)

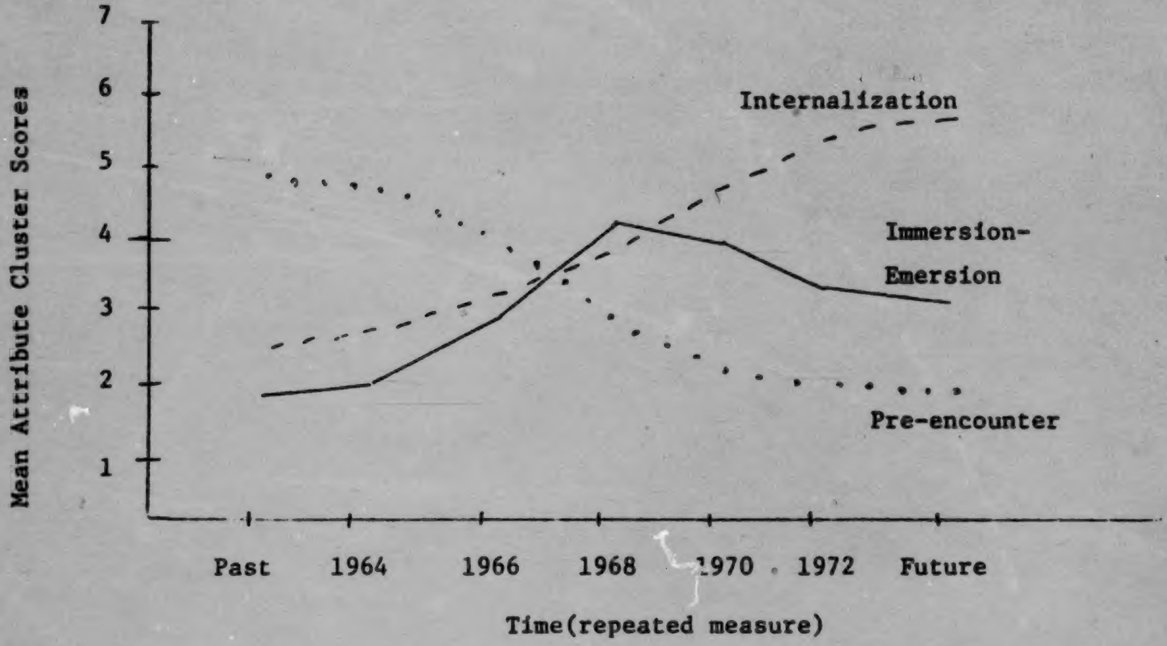

Table I

Key to Cues for Eliciting Paragraphs about Black Identity Change

The Cross Model		Type of Cue	
Stage	Identity State	Stereotype	Process
Pre-encounter	"old" identity is operative	The Negro	Person who has not discovered Blackness
Immersion-Emersion	Transition from old to new identity	The Black Militant	Person who has just discovered Blackness
Internalization	New identity incorporated	Accepted and Internalized Blackness	Person who has been Black for sometime

TASTE DETECTION AND PREFERENCES IN DIABETICS AND THEIR RELATIVES

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Certain pathological states have been found to be associated with alterations in taste acuity and preference. Adrenal insufficiency results in a nonspecific increase in taste sensitivity (Henkin, Gill, and Bartter, 1963; Henkin and Solomon, 1962). Essential hypertension, on the other hand, is associated with a significant and somewhat specific impairment in the taste discrimination of NaCl (Fallis, Lasagna, and Treault, 1962). This latter finding is especially important because recent experimental work has confirmed the clinical observation that hypertensives show a significantly higher preference for NaCl (Schechter, Horowitz, and Henkin, 1973). A heightened salt preference especially early in life may affect later ingestive behavior. Presumably therefore the heightened preference may be a factor in the etiology of hypertension (Desor, Greene, and Maller, 1975).

Diabetes mellitus was found to be associated with a significant and specific impairment in glucose taste detection (Halter, Kulkosky, Woods, Makous, Chen, and Porte, 1975; Schelling, Tetreault, Lasagna, and Davis, 1965). Such a finding may have two significant implications in understanding the etiology of diabetes. First, the taste alteration has been proposed to reflect a generalized defect in glucose sensitivity, including the glucose receptor cell or cell molecule of the pancreas as well as the tongue (Halter et al., 1975; Niki and Niki, 1975). Diabetes then may be the clinical consequences of a hyposensitivity of the pancreatic response to blood sugar.

Secondly, the decreased sensitivity to the taste of glucose may result in an increased preference for glucose because more of the sugar would have to be ingested in order to produce the same taste sensation. The result could be difficulties in dietary management. Further, the excessive ingestion in predisposed persons may overload a system inefficient in handling glucose and lead to the overt disorder.

The main purpose of the first part of this study will be (1) to confirm the taste alteration, (2) to confirm its specificity for glucose, especially in regard to (3) confirming the hypothesis that the phenomenon represents an intrinsic receptor effect. Specifically, it is known that diabetes seems to have a significant though poorly understood genetic component. Further, if the taste defect represents a generalized defect intrinsic to diabetes, then nondiabetics related to diabetics, who presumably carry a genetic predisposition or component of diabetes, could also express the taste alteration as a genetic marker. Therefore, nondiabetics with first degree relatives will also be included as subjects. A taste alteration in those subjects will be additional confirmation of an intrinsic nature of the taste alteration in diabetes.

The taste alteration has also been proposed to result from sensory neuropathy and from a "satiation effect" due to the elevated blood sugar (Schelling, et al., 1965). In the former case, diabetics do seem to show an impaired generalized taste response, as measured by an "electric" taste--a reduced response to a charged electrode (Chochinov, Ullyot, Leslie, and Moorhouse, 1972). However, such an effect should produce a generalized rather than the specific alterations previously reported. Sucrose and NaCl solutions will also be tested in order to determine the specificity of the effect. Further, the taste detection threshold in diabetics will be examined with regard to duration of diabetes as another way of examining a possible role of neuropathy, and blood sugar at testing, as a means of testing the "satiation" hypothesis. Finally the above referred primarily to the more prevalent adult onset diabetes. The question of whether juvenile onset diabetes is qualitatively different from the adult onset variant with a different etiology as well, is still controversial (Stauffacher and Renold, 1971). For this reason, juvenile diabetics will be tested as well as a separate experimental group. The second part of this study was designed to examine taste preference in order to determine (1) if preference differences exist among diabetics and normal subjects with diabetic relatives and (2) if any differences found are related to differences in taste detection.

Method

The Patients

All subjects were patients (outpatient volunteers were paid) from the medical outpatient clinic, the medical wards, and staff from the laboratories of The University of Chicago Hospitals. The experimental subjects were each paired with a control without diabetes or first degree diabetic relatives according to age (within five years except for the pairing of a 72-year-old adult onset diabetic female with a 65-year-old control), and sex.

Group One were 15 adult onset diabetics (18 years or older) and their matched controls with five males and ten females, only one of whom showed peripheral neuropathy. All were insulin requiring except three that were on oral hypoglycemics. Group Two were eight subjects with no history of diabetes but with first-order diabetic relatives, usually a parent. They were four men and four women. Group Three were five juvenile onset diabetics (18 years or younger) with three males and two females. All were insulin requiring and one showed severe general neuropathy. Comparisons were made between each experimental group and its matched control group. The age data for the groups are given in Table 1.

Experiment 1

Procedure

Subjects were tested no earlier than two hours after a meal. At the time of testing blood glucose determinations were made with a Beckman automated glucose analyzer, which is based on a glucose oxidase reaction.

The taste threshold determination was made through a modification of the techniques used by Schelling, et al. (1965) and Halter et al. (1975). The test involves distinguishing a medicine cup containing 2 mls of a test solution from two others containing deionized, distilled water. Subjects were presented with a row of three cups and asked to choose the one that tasted different from the other two. If the subject chose incorrectly, another row with the next higher concentration would be presented. Otherwise, the subject would be presented with a row of the same concentrations until three consecutive correct choices were made, a $p < .05$. That solution would be the detection threshold. The location of the test solution was randomized and a distilled, deionized water rinse preceded each row presentation.

All solutions were made with deionized distilled water. Glucose and sucrose stock solutions were refrigerated between test sessions and all solutions were warmed to 27°C with a water bath.

The concentration of glucose solutions increased by one log unit. The other solutions were increased by one half log steps, especially around the area of known detection thresholds. The specificity of the phenomenon had been criticized as perhaps representing the testing of too large concentration intervals for the other solutions (Shelling, 1965).

Data Analysis

A number of previous studies and pilot observations demonstrated that taste detection data is normally distributed according to the log concentration. Consequently all data analysis of taste thresholds is based on the log M concentration. Differences between groups were analyzed with a t-test for paired comparisons after eyeball inspection revealed a normal distribution of the log concentration.

Results

Figure 1 shows the results for determination of glucose detection thresholds on a log scale. Note that the adult onset diabetics (AOD) showed a higher mean threshold than their controls. The t-test revealed a significant difference with a p value of less than .001 level. Although a marked difference is seen between the mean value of these two groups, the range of values overlapped considerably making such a technique ineffective as a discriminating diagnostic test.

The group of normal subjects related to diabetics also showed a significantly ($p < .001$) higher threshold, compared to their controls, and the magnitude of the differences was comparable to the AOD. Further, the juvenile onset diabetics did not show any significant difference in detection of glucose. Adult onset diabetics and those related to such diabetics (NR) therefore show a decreased sensitivity to glucose but juvenile onset diabetics do not.

Figure 2 indicates that adult onset diabetics also show a heightened threshold for sucrose ($p < .05$) but neither the relatives of diabetics, nor juvenile diabetics show any significant differences compared to controls.

Figure 3 demonstrates that none of the groups show a significant threshold increase for salt. These findings therefore demonstrate a relative alteration in taste detection for AOD, and a specific alteration for NR but no alteration in taste for juvenile diabetics.

The blood glucose at the time of testing of the adult onset group averaged 246 mg% (range 37-598) and the juvenile onset group 328 mg% (range 50-975). A determination of the correlation between glucose taste detection thresholds and blood glucose in adult onset diabetics revealed a positive but nonsignificant relationship ($r = .36$, $p > .10$). The average time since the onset of diabetes in the adult onset group was 10 years (range 4 months-35 years). A positive relationship to duration was seen that was significant ($r = .43$, $p = .05$). The juvenile onset group averaged 13 years (range 5-38 years). The correlation between sucrose threshold and either blood glucose or duration was not meaningful in degree ($r < \pm .1$) or significance ($p > .10$). Nor was any relationship seen with the NR group.

Discussion

These findings are consistent with the concept that a taste receptor alteration, specifically in glucose detection, is intrinsic to diabetecs. The specificity of the effect and the presence of the effect in subjects with no neuropathy tends to exclude general neuropathy as a factor. Further the lack of a significant relationship to blood glucose in this and a previous study (Schelling, et al., 1965) casts doubt on the "satiation" hypothesis. The finding of a taste alteration in nondiabetics with diabetic relatives is quite consistent with this concept.

The nature of the receptor defect is unclear, but comparisons between pancreas and gustatory glucose receptors tend to be consistent with a "common receptor" concept. For example, both receptors show stereospecificity and a maximal responsiveness to the α anomer (Niki and Niki, 1975).

Experiment 2

This experiment tested taste preference using two techniques: a paired-comparison test and a rating test. In the paired comparison test all subjects in Experiment 1 were presented with four increasing suprathreshold concentrations of the glucose, sucrose, or salt solution. All possible pairs of the four concentrations of one of these solutions were presented and the subjects were asked to select that one cup of the pair that they preferred. In the rating test, subjects were simply asked to rate the four concentrations of a solution on a scale of "dislike" to "like" from 1 to 9, with 9 indicating "liking." Water was assigned a value of 5 and presented first.

Figure 4 shows the preference test results in the AOD. This group showed a significant difference only for salt preference in the choice situation ($p < .01$). The diabetics rejected the higher concentration more readily and were more likely to choose the lower concentrations. No significant differences were found for rated preference. However, sucrose ratings were reduced, though not to a significant degree ($p = .10$).

Figure 5 shows the JOD preference results. No significant differences were seen in choice behavior or ratings. Again note the nonsignificant ($p = .10$) decrease in sucrose preference. The NR results, in Figure 6, showed no difference in choice preference, but did show a significant interaction in salt preference ratings between the groups and concentrations ($p < .05$). The NR were less likely to reject salt at higher concentrations.

Of special significance are the findings that (1) the preference differences seen across experimental groups are not the same as the detection findings, (2) no preference for glucose in any group is shown and, (3) the direction of the differences seen in the diabetic subjects are the opposite of what was predicted, i.e., decreased rather than heightened preferences.

General Discussion

We proposed that the finding of a receptor alteration may have implications for food selection. Specifically, preference should be altered as well. Preference for "sweets" should increase. Such alteration in preference in man may have implications for the Black community. The mortality rate for Blacks due to diabetes is much higher than Whites, suggesting an increased frequency of diabetes as well as poorer case. In addition the death rate seems to be increasing (Marks and Kroll, 1971). However, despite the emphasis on the heritability of the disorder, the disease is rare in African populations genetically related to Black Americans (West, 1971).

Recently, diabetes has frequently been found among a number of native African and American populations that once seldom or never showed this disorder (Cleve and Campbell, 1969; West, 1974). One Oklahoman Indian tribe, in a generation, went from no cases to 7,000 cases. Another went from 0 to 70 per 100,000 (versus 14 per 100,000 in the general population). These changes seem to have accompanied a change in life-style from the traditional to one that is more Westernized. One consequence seems to be an increase in obesity. The obesity in turn apparently results from a change in diet, producing the "saccharin disease" described by Cleve and Campbell (1969), among others.

Apparently the diet of non-industrialized societies includes only "raw sugar," that is, unprocessed or unrefined sugar. Although its caloric value does not differ greatly from processed sugar, unprocessed sugar apparently tastes sweet and is generally less (although not unpleasantly so) palatable. The unrefined sugar, however, seems more appropriate for the body, since satiation occurs when the appropriate calories are ingested. Refined sugar--an "unnatural" food for which the body is not attuned--causes satiation much less readily, due to its extreme palatability. As a result, caloric regulation fails, and obesity results, leading to diabetes. An increased preference for sweets therefore could enhance this palatability.

However we did not support the saccharin hypothesis. Rather the diabetics if anything rejected the sweet solutions. Further the alterations that were seen seemed independent of taste detection.

How do we reconcile those findings? First, these findings of non-specific rejection of a tasty solution are similar to observations made in animal research (Lawson and Albin, 1974). Apparently the diabetogenic state is an occasion for a learned taste aversion. Glucose preference and that for other sugars on the other hand tend to be fairly resistant to such learning. The findings of a difference in the nondiabetic group with diabetic relatives is provocative because the difference is in the opposite direction and because there is a difference. Presumably different mechanisms are involved and may suppress a prediabetic preference factor. Further it is known that diabetics early in the course of the disease frequently increase their frequency of eating.

While this study did not support the saccharin hypothesis, nevertheless such an approach is significant because it shifts the problem away from individual pathology to the cultural milieu of the individual, and suggests quite different ways of understanding diabetes. Finally, these findings suggest that research in the behavioral as well as the biochemical basis of diabetes can be useful in understanding the etiology of the disorder as well as its treatment.

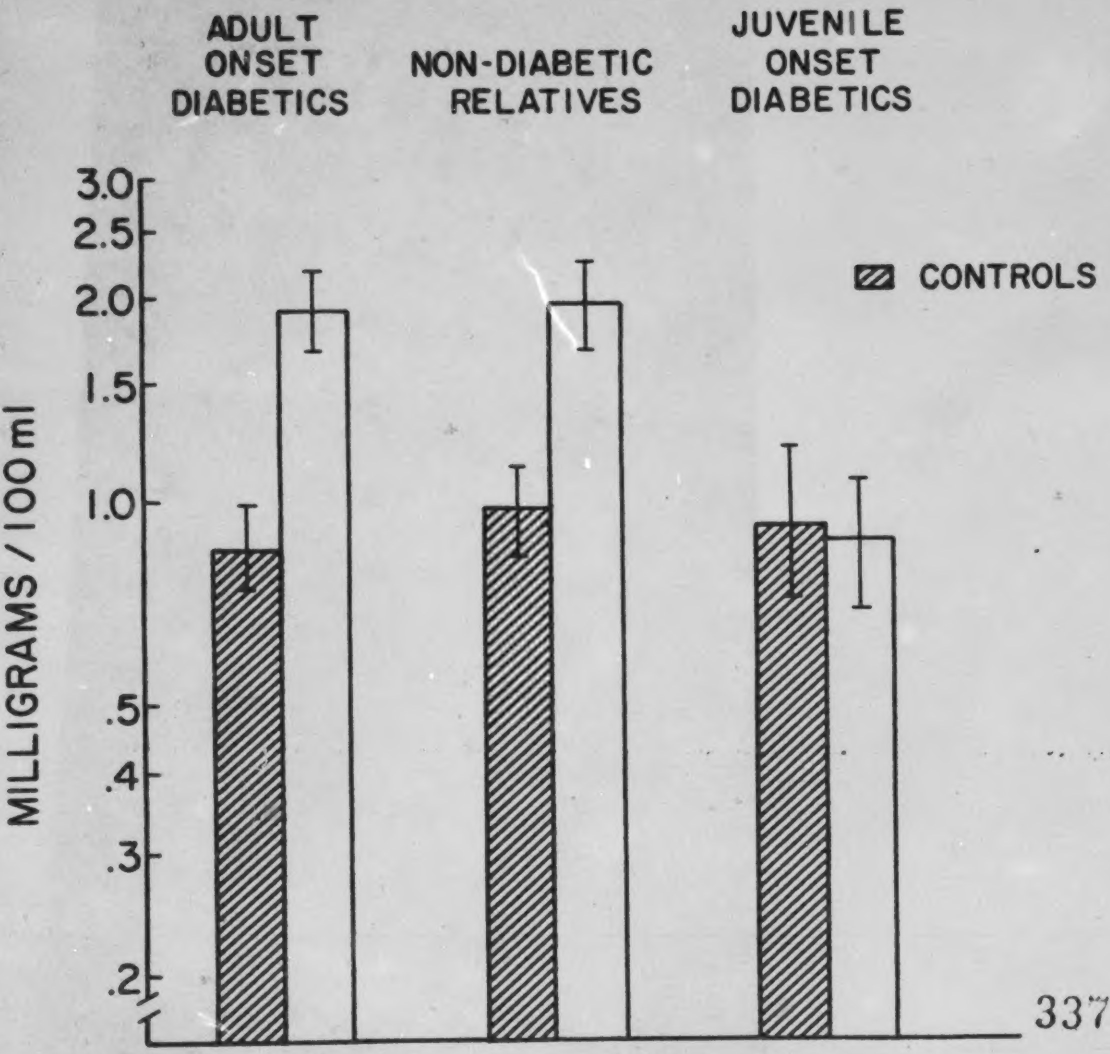
TABLE 1

SUBJECTS	Male	Female	Total	Age
Controls	9	18	27	35 (22-65)
Adult Onset Diabetics (AOD) (Onset 18 years)	8	14	22	47 (24-72)
Juvenile Onset Diabetics (JOD) (Onset 18 years)	4	5	9	24 (17-49)
Normal Subjects with Diabetic Relatives (NR)	4	7	11	32 (19-70)

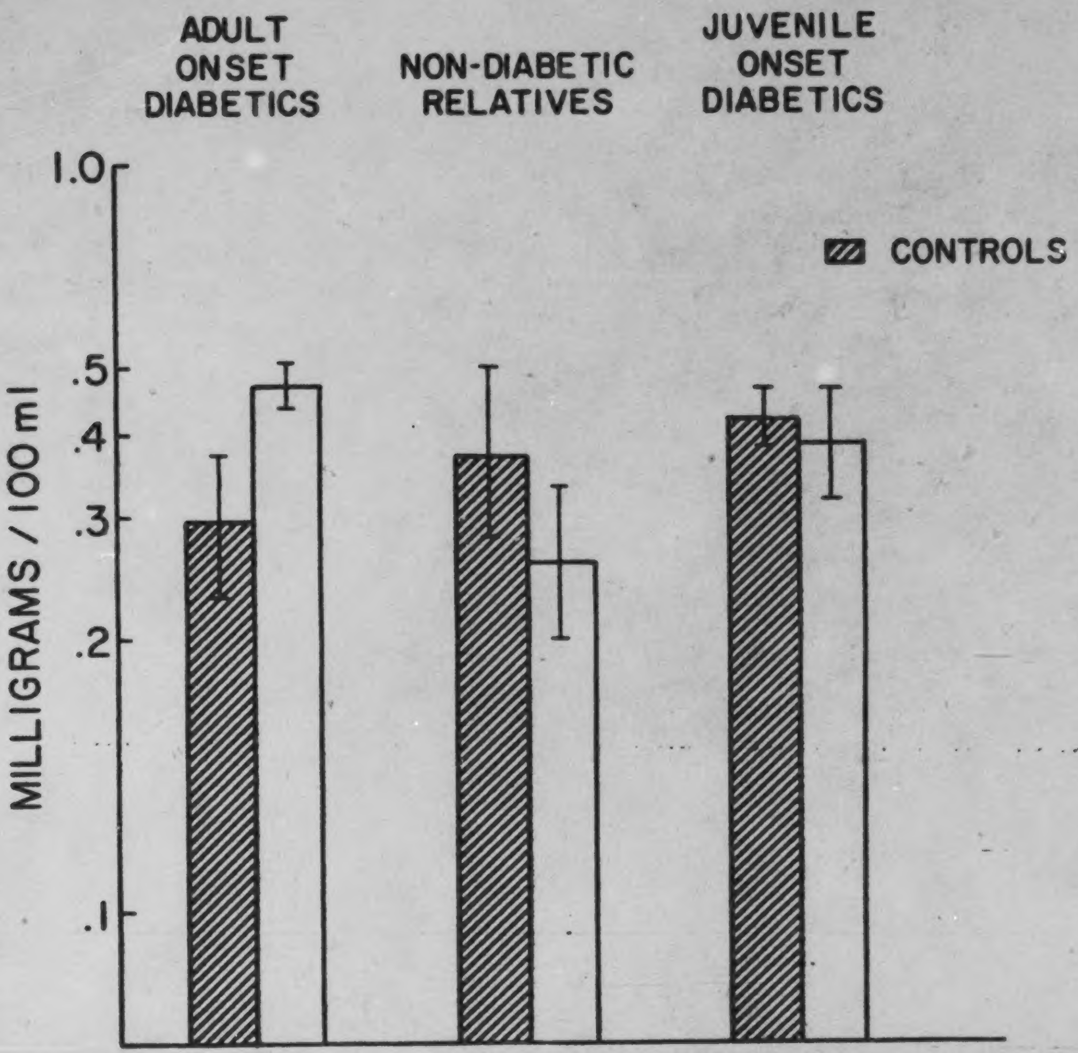
FIGURE LEGENDS

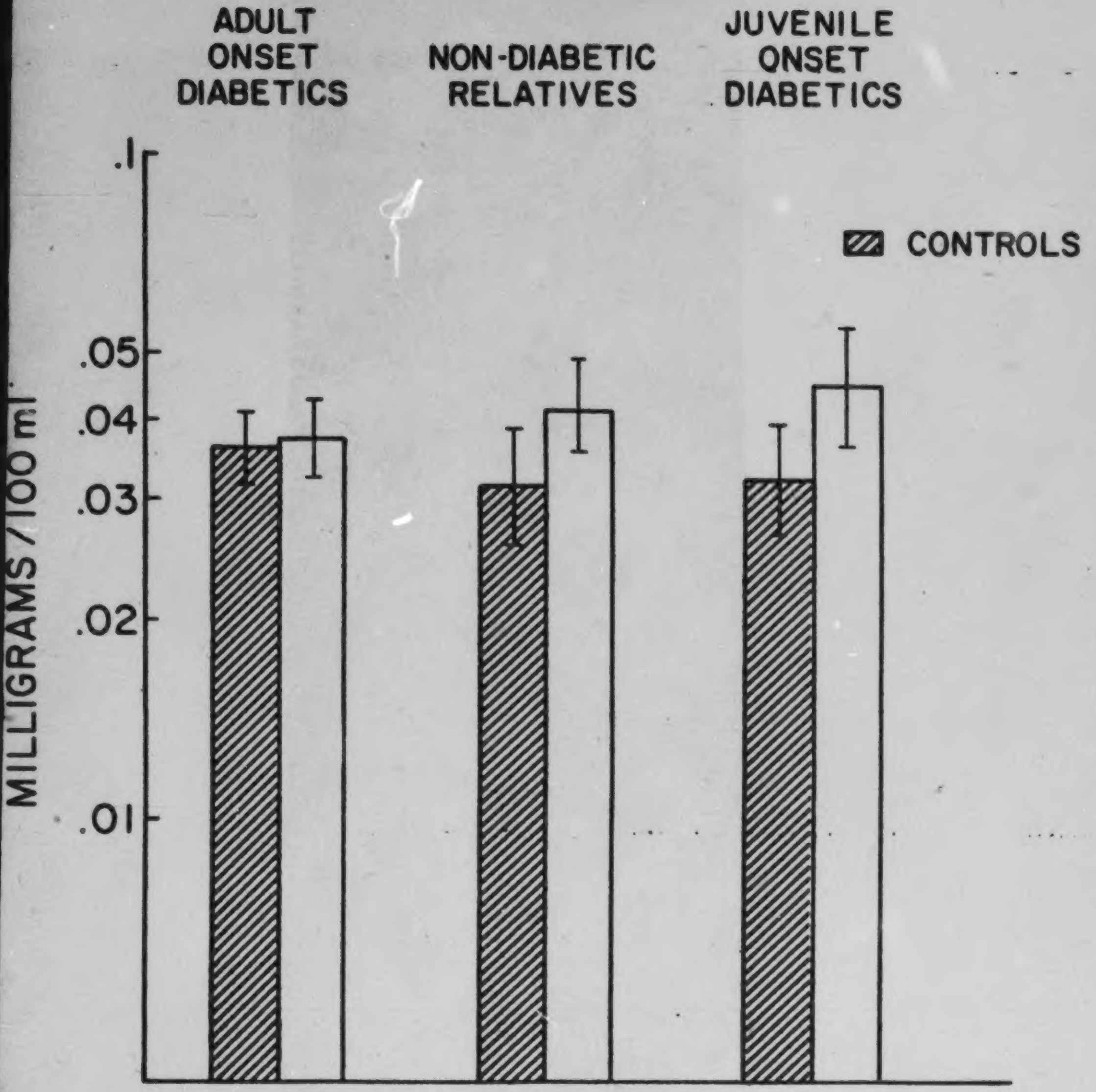
Figure 1	Taste Detection Threshold for Glucose Expressed as Molar Concentration (Log Scale). AOD = adult onset diabetic. NR = nondiabetic with diabetic relatives. JOD = juvenile onset diabetic.
Figure 2	Taste Detection Threshold for Sucrose.
Figure 3	Taste Detection Threshold for Salt.
Figure 4	Preference Behaviour in AOD. Top graph = Choice 1 behavior. Bottom = Mean Ratings.
Figure 5	Preference Behavior in JOD.
Figure 6	Preference Behavior in NR.

GLUCOSE TASTE THRESHOLD

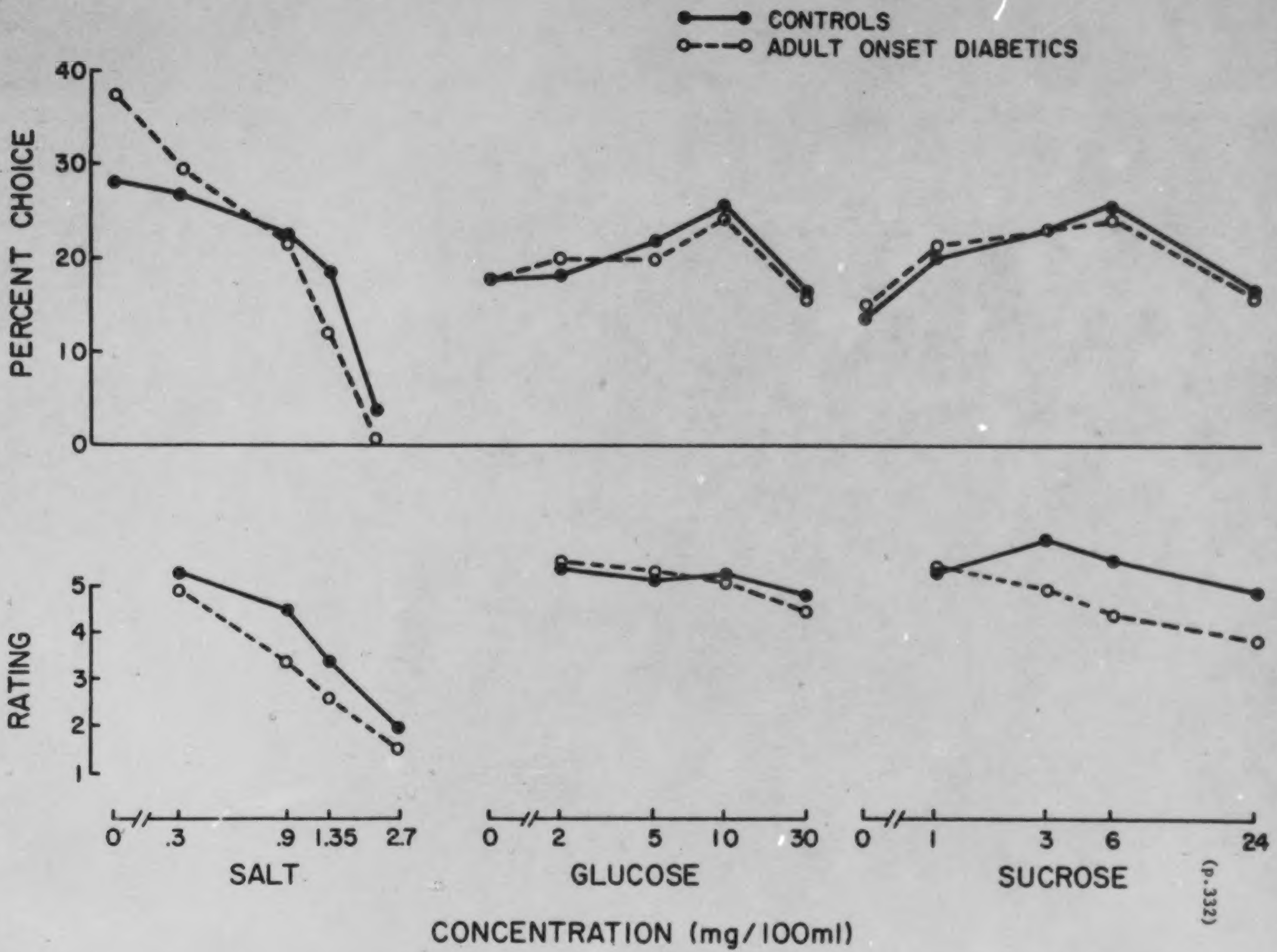


SUCROSE TASTE THRESHOLD



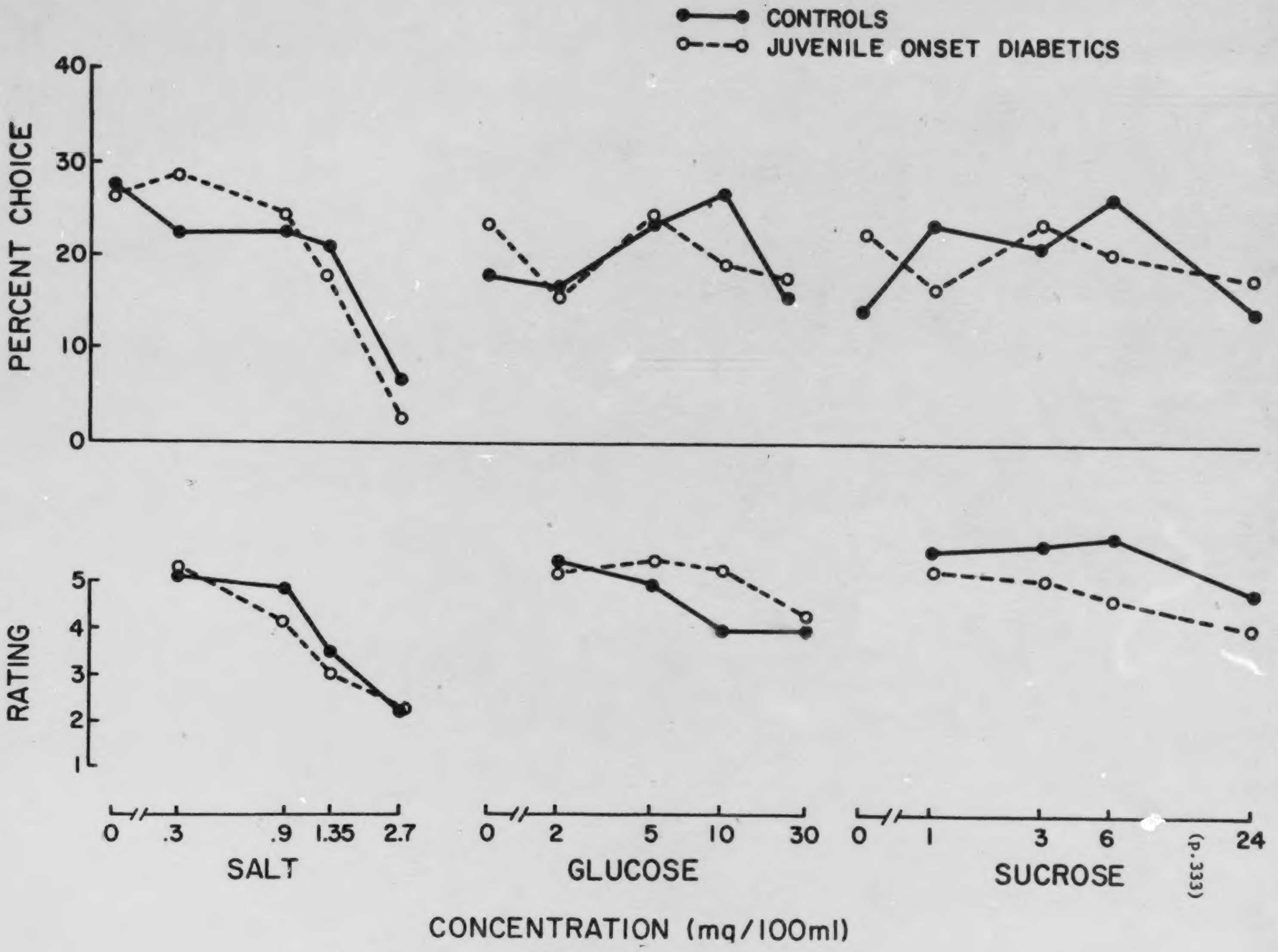


SALT TASTE THRESHOLD


CONTROLS
ADULT ONSET DIABETICS
PERCENT CHOICE
40
30
20
10
0
RATING
5
4
3
2
1
0
.3
.9
1.35
2.7
SALT
0
2
5
10
30
GLUCOSE
0
1
3
6
24
SUCROSE
(p. 332)
CONCENTRATION (mg/100ml)

341

342


CONTROLS
JUVENILE ONSET DIABETICS
PERCENT CHOICE
40
30
20
10
0
RATING
5
4
3
2
1
0
.3
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1.35
2.7
SALT
0
2
5
10
30
GLUCOSE
0
1
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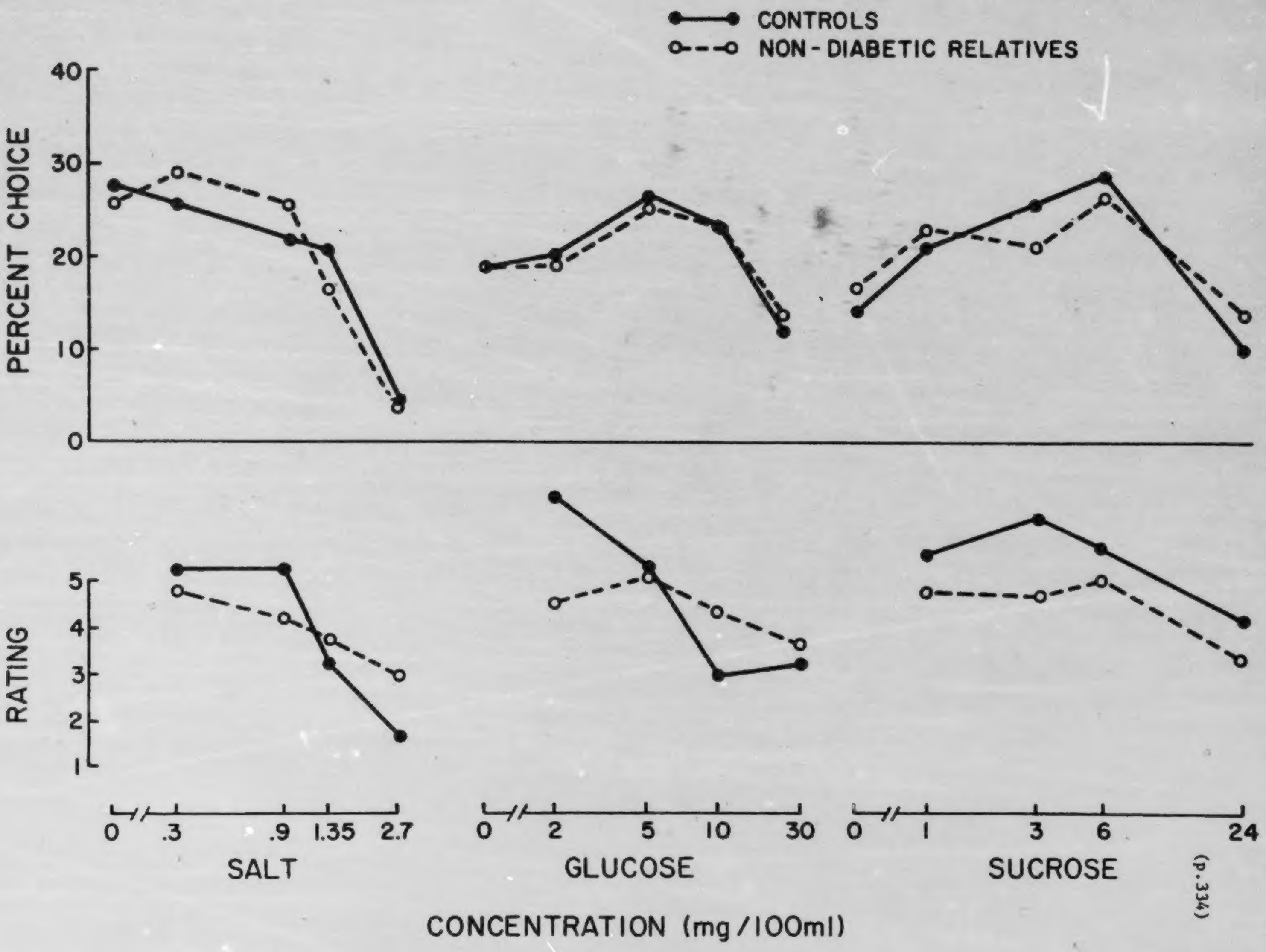
6
24
SUCROSE
(p. 333)
CONCENTRATION (mg/100ml)



CONTROLS
NON-DIABETIC RELATIVES
PERCENT CHOICE
40
30
20
10
0
RATING
5
4
3
2
1
0
.3
.9
1.35
2.7
SALT
0
2
5
10
30
GLUCOSE
0
1
3
6
24
SUCROSE
(p. 334)
CONCENTRATION (mg/100ml)

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ED148950

Sex Differentiation and Sex Identification: Cultural Considerations

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Presented at the Third Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology

Cornell University October 29-31, 1976

UD017662

Much controversy exists in the literature over the use of the Draw-A-Person (DAP) as a valid projective of self-concept and more specifically of sexual identification. The present study is a spin-off of a larger research project reported by Bolling (1974) and is intended to add cultural dimensions to the interpretation of sexual differentiation in children's drawings.

The basic assumption of this first report is that the first figure drawn when a child is asked to draw a person is significantly related to, but does not necessarily establish, the sexual identification of the child.

Other studies are currently in publication to further elucidate this hypothesis so the primary intent of this paper is to introduce the cultural factor as a consideration in identity formation, especially as it relates to sex-role preference.

To understand the relationship between identity, self-image, and the DAP, it is first necessary to review the theory of the DAP as a projective technique and how it came to be used as a means of assessing the body image as set forth in the physiological and psychoanalytic theory of Schilder (1935) concerning body image.

Schilder's pioneering work laid the foundation for further studies in this area. Borrowing from former tenets in Neurology, he extended the postulation of the existence of postural models from which a person's identity and body-image is formulated. This postural model is a tri-dimensional model, existing in relationship to, and non-separable from, the environment in its past, present and future realities.

The proposed model undergoes perpetual alterations due to increasingly more complex experiences or postures. The brain plays an important role in this process in that every new posture, movement or situation is recorded on a plastic schema. He further postulates the inter-relatedness and exchange of body schema, which would be synonomous with the processes of identification, internalization and incorporation in other theories. All conscious and unconscious movement is added to the schema and become a part of the model of self. Emotional growth and the creative phenomenon are described as a process of perpetual inner self-construction and self-destruction which ultimately affects the topography of the postural model of the body.

A DAP would be a projection used to illicit a sampling of the symbolic thinking of the person in reference to self at any given time in this process.

A definition of the term "projection" further clarifies, or extends, what is to be measured by a DAP. A projection as commonly defined in the literature is the phenomenon whereby one ascribes feelings, emotions, characteristics, attitudes of one's own to objects in the environment, which may be other persons, organisms and even things.

Machover (1949) was the first to apply Schilder's work in a psychoanalytic framework to the projection of the Human Figure Drawing. Since this time the postulation, that the sex of the first figure drawn establishes the sexual identification of the drawer, has been widely employed in the clinical setting despite the fact that many studies have been done both "invalidating" and "validating" the theory.

This "either-or" orientation expressed in the seemingly conflicting research findings does not consider other significant issues related to the sexual identification process. Another issue which should enter the interpretive process would be sexual preference as opposed to sexual identification, i.e.--a pubescent female drawing of a male figure may be expressing psycho-social-sexual preferences for object relationship. Admittedly at the covert level, this does express something about her own sexual identity; but, overtly, it expresses more about her psycho-social-sexual preference.

The essence of the tri-dimensional model of Schilder was lost as the body-image theory underwent progressive modification through research. It finally ends up as a uni-dimensional model with varied reports on different aspects unrelated to a total concept of self-image formation.

Koppitz (1968), from her own experience with children's drawings and from the Goodenough-Harris Scoring System, constructed two distinct groups of features for assessing the DAP--namely, the "Developmental" and the "Emotional" indicators. This separation, while probably intended for clarity in research design, did much to confuse clinicians who interpret and continue to apply them as separate and unrelated dimensions of the projective process. This dichotomy between organic and emotional, which underlies all forms of psychiatric testing, surely goes against Schilder's original work wherein he repeatedly states that the two cannot under any circumstance be separated.

In support of the theory of continuity of organic and emotional factors, research data was reported recently by Bolling (1974) showing the "emotional" features of skin shading to have statistically reliable developmental norms related to age and maturation.

The reports in the literature on sexual identification in children's drawings, even though seemingly contradictory, take on a new meaning and significance when they are viewed as partial views of a multifaceted, dynamic process. Many parts of the process are still missing and thus defines what has to be done to get a fuller picture of the whole. Some significant studies adding new dimensions to this view have been reported in the recent literature. For instance, Jolles (1952) has shown that children of ages five to eight, when asked to draw a person, draw their own sex first in about 80% of the cases. After age eight, the percentage of boys drawing the male first rises, and the precentage of girls drawing the female first falls. Granick and Smith (1953), and Mainord (1953) both reported a smaller proportion of adult women draw the female figure first than the corresponding proportion of men who draw the male figure first; this led the authors to the conclusion that the operation of a social stereotype seems to be as plausible an explanation for this discrepancy as that of unconscious sex-role conflicts.

Along this same line, Morris (1955) reported that the first drawn figure, which was one of 14 variables studied, revealed that 96% of the boys and 76% of the girls made like-sexed drawings first. The study consisted of 25 boys and 25 girls with a median age of 13 years and derived from a small midwestern city.

Those who have reported opposite findings (females dominating with same-sex figure drawn first) include the studies of Tolor and Toler (1955) who found in a study of pre-adolescents in Brooklyn,ranging in age from 9 to 12, that 82% of 67 boys drew figures of the same sex first, compared to 91% of the 69 girls.

Further support is provided by Weider and Noller (1950, 1953) who studied 153 children, 73 males and 80 females, selected by socioeconomic class in Louisville. They found that between the ages of 8 and 10 years, a considerably greater proportion (97%) of girls than of boys (74%) drew the figure of their own sex first. While the tendency to draw one's own sex first was unrelated to socioeconomic status, the number of sex-specific details depicted (hair, hat, garb, etc.) was definitely related to socioeconomic status. These findings led the authors to speculate that similar factors are reflected in intelligence test performance. They postulated that children probably draw the figure of the sex group with which they have had the most contact, and thus are more closely identified. They further postulate that "deviations from this pattern may reflect psychological deviation; they may also reflect social and cultrual factors, or merely incidental and situational influences." In view of Schilder's (1934) postulations of body image formation, the authors feel that it would be more correct to state that deviations from this pattern are probably determined by social, cultural, ethnic, incidental and situational influences, all of which contributes to and make up the personality of the individual.

Brown and Tolor's (1957) review of the literature found no convincing evidence that choice of sex in first figure drawing related significantly to adequacy of psychosexual identification or adjustment, and they cautioned against indiscriminate use of this tool in the clinical setting.

From the review of the literature it is fairly safe to assume that a test of body image not only must measure some aspect of figure and ground but also a host of psychological variables which would be reflected as impulses, anxieties, conflicts, and compensation. These psychological variables differ both within and across ethnic groups at different levels of development, they differ according to socioeconomic levels, geographical locations, sex differences, schooling, cultural exposure, etc.

Since we know that all of these variables could be influenced by a variety of factors within the same individual, it becomes increasingly difficult to measure this phenomena using rigid criteria over a period of time, for the individual personality fluctuates as it passes through developmental levels.

It becomes even more difficult to apply rigid criteria in measuring personality traits of larger groups, and it becomes next to impossible to employ certain rigid criteria across cultural groups. While the underlying psychological reason for production of symptoms vary within groups, surely it varies even greater between groups exposed to different environmental stresses. Therefore, considering the myrids of possibilities for identity formation, it is problematic how many aspects of the self-image any one research design can tap.

Procedure

The Draw-A-Person test in a modified form employing crayon, was administered as a group test to 3201 children of different ethnic backgrounds and ranging in age from 3 to 17.

The crayon was chosen because, as mentioned earlier, the present report is part of a larger study which necessitated the use of crayon. The child was given two plain, unlined sheets of white paper, 8½ x 11", and told to draw a person. When he was finished, the instructions were given to draw the opposite sex of the one drawn on the first sheet.

Subjects

The subjects used in this study were obtained from public and private schools in the New York metropolitan area--they range in age from 3 years to 17 years. The number of subjects and the average age are recorded in Table I. The percentages of responses by age groups for the first same-sex figure drawn are in Table II.

The number of responses of same-sex drawn first were tabulated for each age group and converted into percentages. The curves of these percentages are reported in graphs I - IV.

Insert Table & Graphs here

TABLE I

Population According to age and Ethnic Grouping

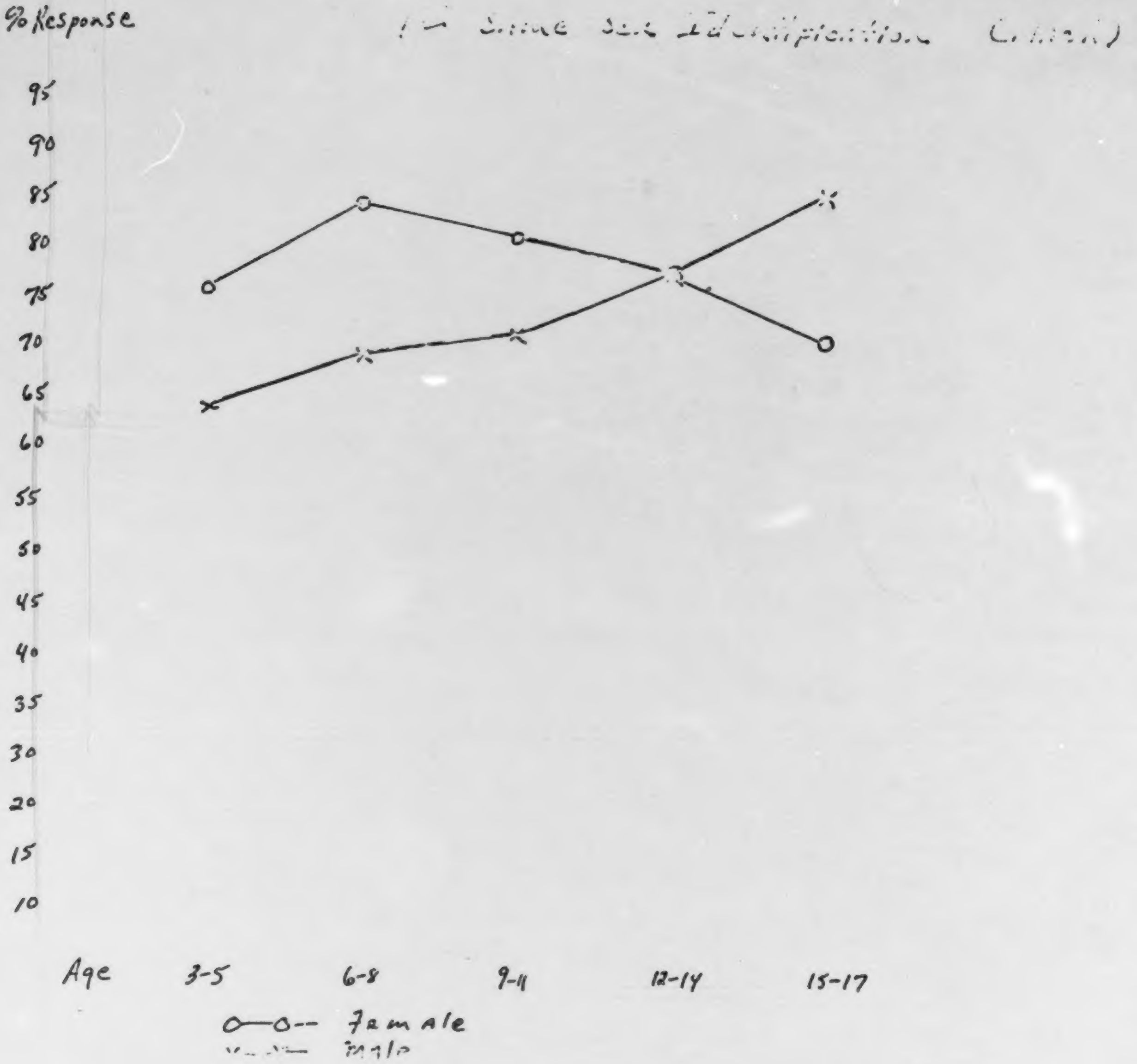
	Group I Black		Group II Black PR		Group III White PR		Group IV White	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
3 - 5	128	128	27	31	32	40	8	11
6 - 8	213	190	86	85	105	101	124	130
9 - 11	182	133	50	35	68	52	104	108
12 - 14	194	141	28	43	32	39	45	24
15 - 17	223	103	25	57	30	20	21	5
Total	940	695	216	251	267	252	302	278
Total by Ethnic group	1635		467		519		580	
	Grand Total 3201							
% of Grand Total by Ethnic Group	51.0		14.6		16.2		18.1	
% of Grand Total by Sex & Ethnic Group	BM 29.4	BF 21.7	BPRM 6.7	BPRF 7.8	WPRM 8.3	WPRF 7.9	WM 9.4	WF 8.7

Table II

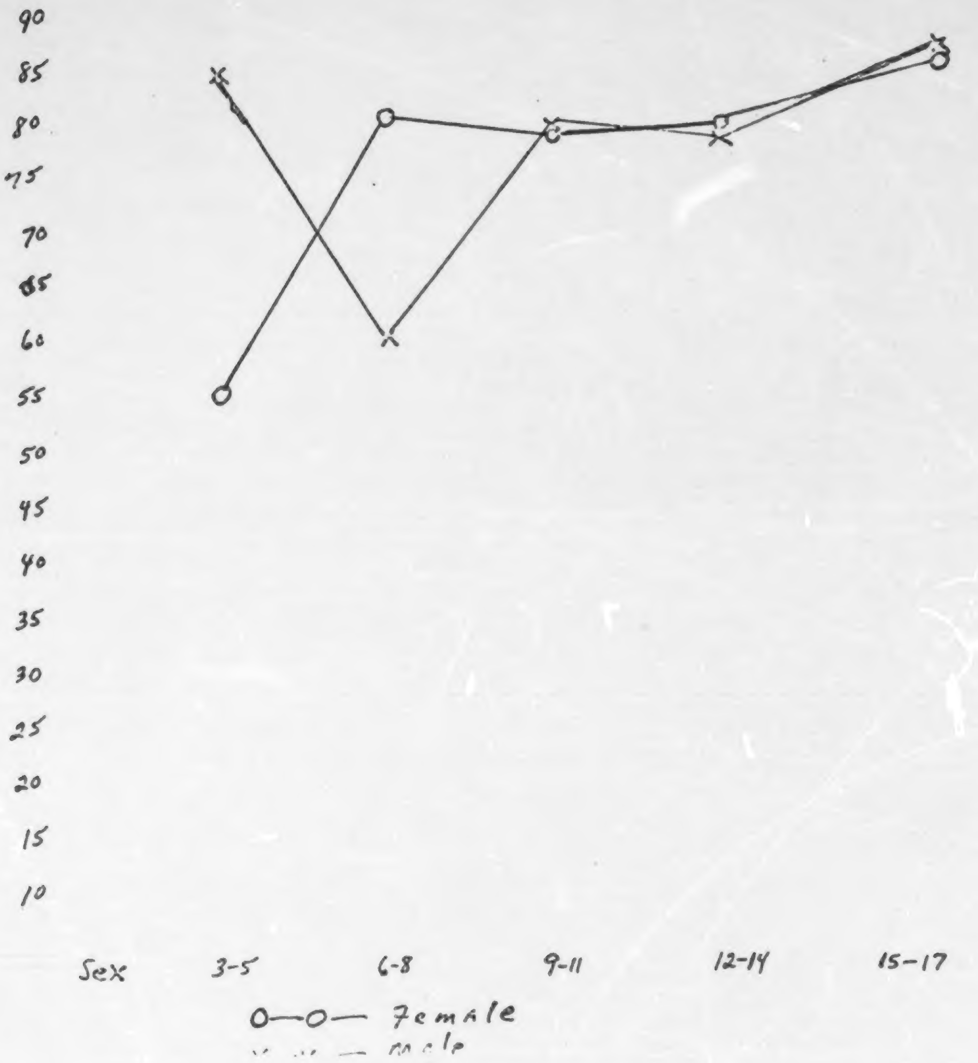
Responses of First Same-Sex Figure Drawn According to Age Grouping

Age Group	BLACK						BLACK PUERTO RICAN						WHITE PUERTO RICAN						WHITE					
	MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE		
	N	R	%	N	R	%	N	R	%	N	R	%	N	R	%	N	R	%	N	R	%	N	R	%
3-5	128	83	64.8	128	97	75.8	27	15	55.6	31	22	70.9	32	27	84.4	40	22	55.0	8	5	62.5	11	7	63.
6-8	213	148	69.5	190	160	84.2	86	52	60.5	85	67	78.8	105	64	60.9	101	81	80.2	124	92	74.2	130	109	83.
9-11	182	131	71.9	133	108	81.2	50	42	84.0	35	30	85.7	68	54	79.4	52	41	78.8	104	84	80.8	108	97	89.
2-14	194	153	78.9	141	111	78.7	28	20	71.4	43	34	79.1	32	25	78.1	39	31	79.5	45	38	84.4	24	17	70.
5-17	223	191	85.7	103	74	71.8	25	20	80.0	57	44	77.2	30	28	86.7	20	17	85.0	21	17	80.9	5	4	80.

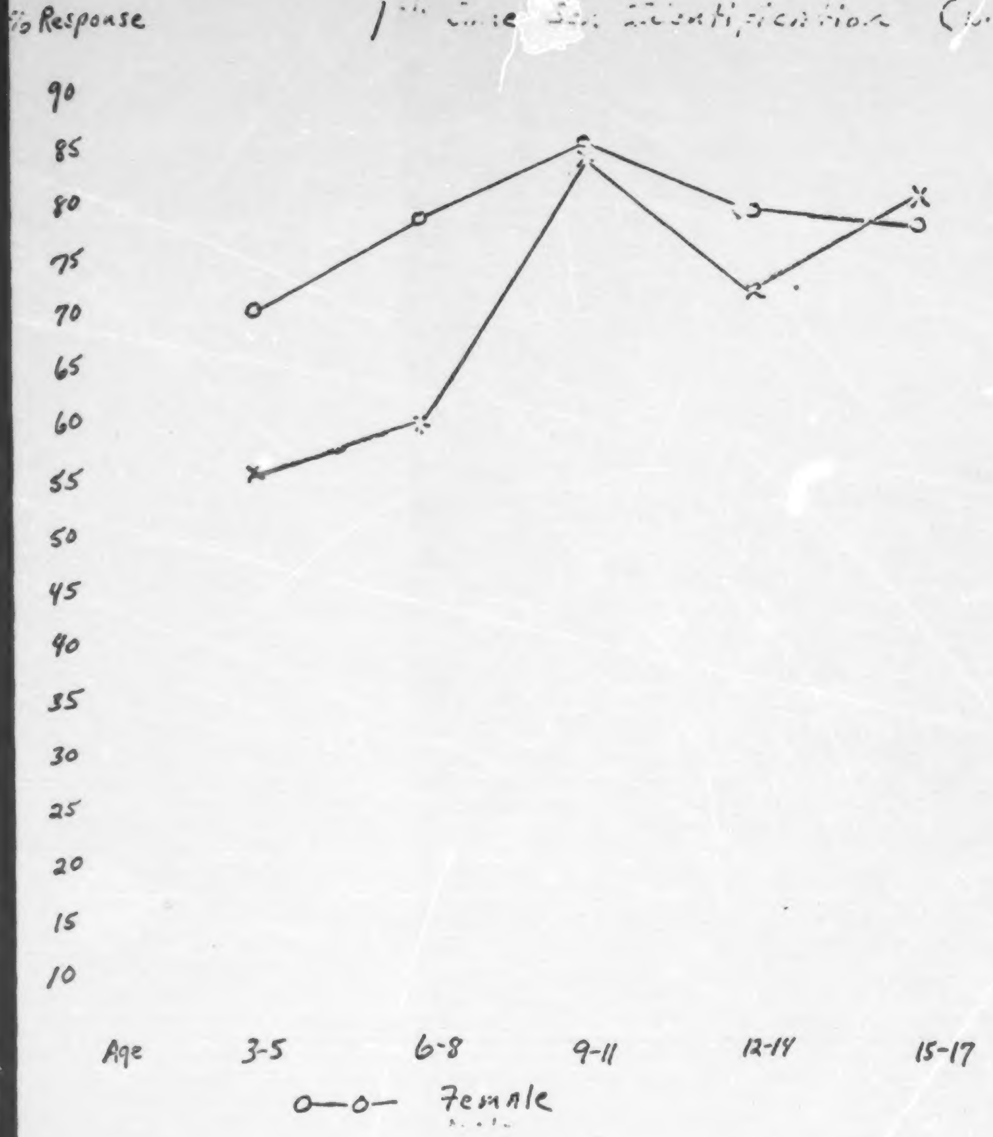
N = Student Population
R = Response of first same-sex drawing
% = Percentage of first same-sex responses


F- Same Sex Identification (Chart)
% Response
95
90
85
80
75
70
65
60
55
50
45
40
35
30
20
15
10
Age
3-5
6-8
9-11
12-14
15-17
o—o-- Female
x--x— Male

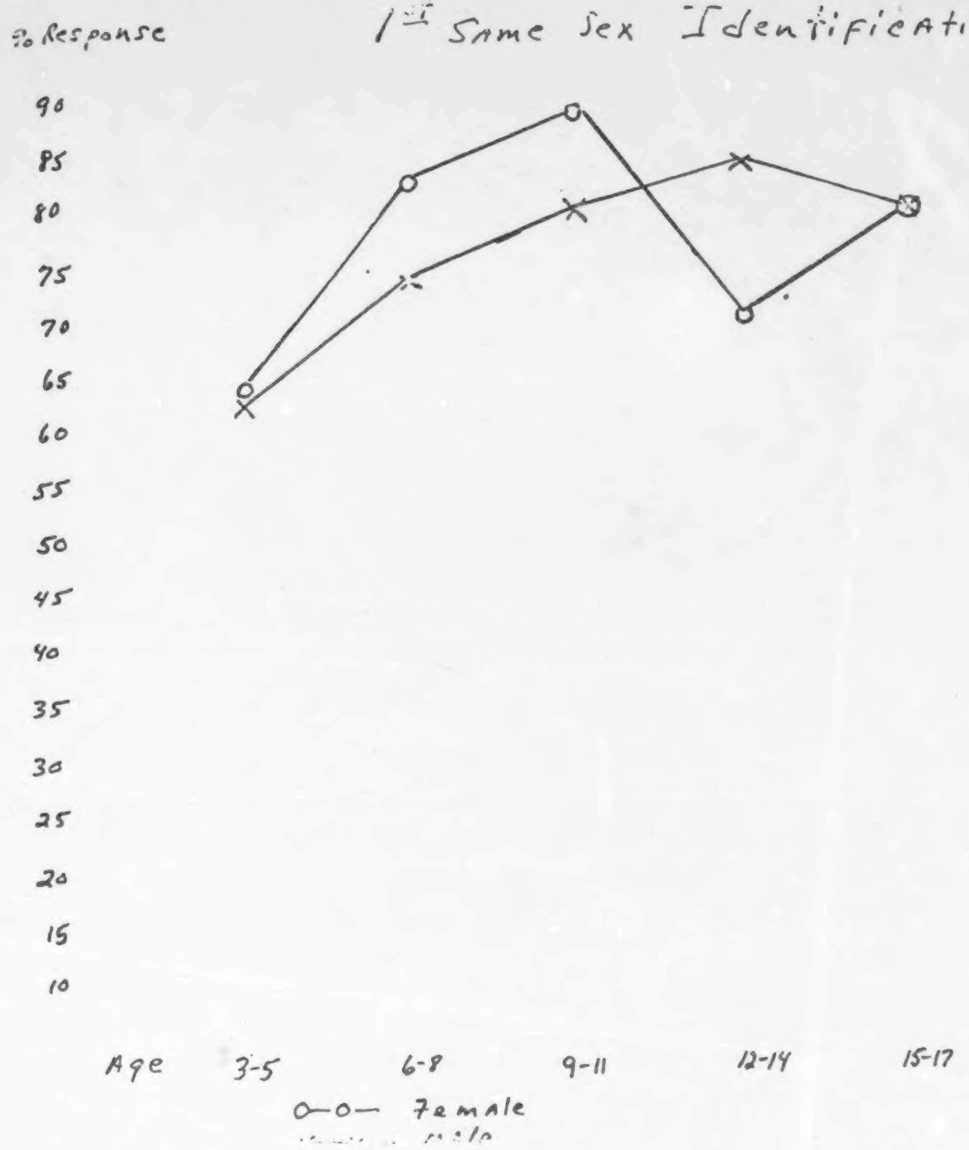
1st Same Sex Identification (W.F.R.)



1st Line Sex Identification ([illegible])



1st Same Sex Identification (white)



Discussion

The data showed that:

1. All children do not necessarily draw their same-sex first.

2. As children increase in age, the percentage of children who draw the same-sex first increases.

3. There are unexplained or unexpected fluctuations in the curves or percentages. One can postulate, of course, from social and cultural realities in a patriarchal society, that the females may come to devalue their self role identification as they grow older while the males continue in their upward evaluation of their own sex role.

The curves of same-sex identification show that the female in groups I, II, IV, have a higher percentage of responses during the younger ages than the males and, in the group III, the males show the higher same-sex identification from ages 3 - 4½, after which the female shows the higher same-sex identification up until pre-adolescence. During adolescence, all the curves show changes, some with increase and some with a decrease in same-sex identification. One would expect that the curve would be a regular upward curve if only developmental issues were involved. However, a noticable feature in groups I, II, and IV is that the female curve for same-sex identification decreases in preadolescents and continues downward in groups I and II, whereas in groups III and IV they show a later upward trend during late adolescency.

The most striking feature in a comparative manner is that the different cultural-ethinc groups show some similar general trends in differentiation patterns, for instance: Groups I, II, IV show a crossing-pattern where the female curve is initially higher but later crosses the male curve and becomes lower for same sex identification. Group III also shows this pattern but it is less distinct than in the other groups. This crossing pattern occurs respectively in the following order for these groups:

Group I crosses at age 14

Group II crosses at age 16

Group III crosses at ages 7, 11, and 15

Group IV crosses at age 12½

If the question of identity was equally applicable to everybody, the curves should be of similar shape. But since the curves are different, there would be the assumption that cultural factors intervene in the developmental process.

As Schilder (1935) states somewhat ambiguously, "There will be functions which are *merely determined by anatomy and physiology. But *even in those the psychic influence and the influence of experience will, according to our latest observations, play some part. In other experiences, especially those concerning the libidinous structure of the postural model, experience will play an outstanding part, but even so experience will be connected with anatomy and physiology." He states further, "The postural model of the body is not merely a psychic addition to the solid structure of the body, but also a physiological entity with physiological consequences influencing

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* underline emphasis - mine

the functions of the organs and possibly also their form and growth, the postural model lies on the way to conversion."

In other words, in Schilder's designation there is no distinct separation of structure from function or organic (maturational) from environmental (emotional) factors.

The differences of the shapes of the curves are reflections of different cultural variables interacting with physiological variables. This is manifested in the findings that:

1. At the earlier ages more females than males show same-sex identification.
2. During pre-adolescence there is little movement in the curve for the males while there is a decrease in the curve for the female. This might mean that the process of sex identification for males is a slower process but without too much turmoil. While with females, pre-adolescence becomes a turbulant state.
3. Even if one accepts the premise that sex identification can be represented by drawings, one must be aware that at no point there is a one-to-one correlation.

   With this in mind the authors purposefully employed the title "Sexual differentiation" which connotes a dynamic model more commensurate with Schilder's original description of the body image.

Further research studies are designed to show what happens beyond age 17 in the identification process.

Also, it would be interesting to devise a study for the specific purpose of deciding the role of cultural factors (patriarchal-matriarchal) as well as experimental factors (one parent families, extended families, sole male in surrounding of females and visa versa.) Specific studies are currently being designed to look into each of those situations.

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The authors wish to express thanks to Dr. Alexander Thomas and Dr. Sam Korn for their invaluable assistance.

ED148953

Some Effects of Evaluative-Feedback Upon Compliance and Self-Evaluation in Blacks***

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Presented at the Third Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology at Cornell University in October of 1976.

***In Press, Journal of Experimental Social Psychology

UD017663

Abstract

Two experiments were conducted to investigate the effects of positive and negative reinforcements upon black college students. In the first experiment subjects received either positive or negative reinforcement from a black or a white Evaluator. Behavioral change (compliance) was greater in response to negative reinforcement from a black Evaluator than in response to negative reinforcement from a white Evaluator, while there were no divergent effects of Evaluator's Race upon compliance with positive reinforcement. The same pattern obtained in subjects' self-evaluations. The second experiment offered a test of the hypothesis that the objectivity of black Evaluators was perceived as greater than that of white Evaluators; and that a manipulation aimed at equating the Evaluators on objectivity would attenuate the effects of Evaluator's Race upon compliance and self-evaluation in response to negative reinforcement. These hypotheses were generally supported by the results.

Some Effects of Evaluative-Feedback Upon Compliance and Self-Evaluation in Blacks

The significance of social evaluations in determining the growth and behavior of the individual has been a primary emphasis in many theorists' conceptions of the development of black personality (see Erikson, 1964; Proshansky & Newton, 1968; Nobles, 1973). It has been suggested that within a social milieu which labels and defines (Williams, 1964, 1965) as well as treats certain racial characteristics as inferior, undesirable, and inappropriate, it is hard to imagine that individuals could develop concepts of self which would not reflect the evaluative status which their racial identities accord them. Moreover, much research has been directed toward testing that thesis through an analysis of the trait of self-hate in blacks (Clark & Clark, 1947, 1950; Radke-Yarrow & Lande, 1953; Morland, 1962; McDonald & Gynther, 1965; Maliver, 1965) as well as the patterns of its "inevitable" development (Clark & Clark, 1939; Morland, 1963; Carpenter & Busse, 1969).

Such a thesis however has occupied a large intuitive status, since relatively little research has directly addressed the processes which would underly such social impact. Essentially the issue is one of the behavioral and self-evaluative reactions on the part of the black persons to the social-evaluative feedback received from other individuals.

One theory of the effects of evaluative reinforcement upon blacks may be derived from an analysis of the processes which might influence a recipient's interpretation of evaluative judgments. Social reinforcement is likely to be accepted, internalized, and complied with in proportion to the apparent information value it holds for the recipient--its perceived objectivity. In this sense, objectivity is related to the extent to which the reinforcements reflect evaluative responses contingent upon the behaviors of the recipient and instrumental to the recipient's (perhaps eventual) outcomes. Insofar as the locus of the stimuli upon which reinforcements (or evaluative judgments) are dependent is the recipient as opposed to the evaluator, those reinforcements will be perceived as objective.

In this regard, the negative biases which blacks may presume to characterize white evaluative sources become critical to an analysis of perceived objectivity and the reactions of blacks to evaluative feedback. Racial prejudice, for instance, is characterized by the stereotypic person-perception which it engenders, and the motives of hostility and hedonic minimization which it fosters towards its objects. Moreover, the objectivity of negative evaluative responses from whites may be perceived as low. Such dispositional biases in the evaluator would constitute "possible other" or "facilitative" causes in negative evaluative responses (cf. Kelley, 1971). Thus, the attribution of objectivity would be "discounted" (Kelley, 1971) in the negative reinforcement behavior of whites toward blacks. Correspondingly, however, positive evaluative responses from whites may appear relatively objective, since they are difficult to attribute to such dominant dispositional motives.

In contrast, the relative objectivity of negative evaluative responses from Black sources would be perceived as high. In fact, evaluative responses from blacks may be presumed to be objective whether they are positive or negative in nature. It is likely that blacks receive highly varying feedback from other blacks precisely because that feedback is largely a function of random differences in the evaluators, and because that feedback tends in fact to be objective--that is, based upon the behavior of the target person rather than upon systematic biases in the evaluator. In the absence of any apparent consistent dispositional biases in the perception or motives of black evaluators, evaluative responses may be attributable to factors associated with the recipient (his acts or his outcomes) whether those responses are positive or negative.

Insofar as the perceived objectivity of evaluative feedback will determine the extent to which a recipient accepts and complies with it, we should expect that such feedback will impact black individuals largely as a function of its evaluative direction (positive or negative) and the race at its source (black or white). Specifically, we may derive the following hypotheses from the above discussion:

1. A white evaluator will be seen as more objective when his evaluative feedback is positive than when his evaluative feedback is negative; while a black evaluator would be seen as equally objective whether his evaluative feedback is positive or negative in direction.

2. Behavioral compliance and changes in self-evaluation will be greater in response to negative evaluative feedback from a black evaluator than in response to negative feedback from a white evaluator.

3. Behavioral compliance and changes in self-evaluation will be uniform in response to positive evaluative feedback from

black and white evaluators.

The first of the two experiments reported here was designed to test this set of predictions. In both the experiments reported here the task employed was sufficiently novel as to rule out preconceptions on the part of subjects regarding the competence of black and white evaluators; and the measures of compliance and self-evaluative changes were clearly tied to explicit feedback from the evaluators regarding the subjects' expected behaviors. In addition, the use of peer-level confederates (other students) as evaluative sources was aimed at avoiding the effects of age, status, and expertise differentiation associated with the use of experimenters as evaluators.

Method

Subjects. Forty black undergraduates at Princeton University participated in the study in return for payment. Though the sample was comprised of both males and females, sex was not balanced.

Design and Procedure. Subjects arrived at the appointed experimental location to find another subject (actually an experimental confederate) already waiting with the Experimenter. They were then taken to isolated cubicles where the Experimenter briefly introduced himself and explained that the experimental procedure would involve two separate roles for the participants.

The role of Performer involved engaging in a performance task of controlling and moderating one's levels of arousal as indicated on a physiological meter (see Banks, 1973). Subjects were told that the importance of this skill had to do with its relationship to the maintenance of attention and motivation as well as to the control of stress. The object of the task was to maintain the readings on a physiological meter within a prescribed range. The task was described to subjects as having two important dimensions: the control of arousal, and the awareness of fluctuation in arousal. The Performer could maintain desired arousal readings on the physiological meter through the continuous use of conscious control or through "intervention." Conscious control consisted merely of attempts at self-relaxation or self-excitation. Intervention consisted of pressing a button to increase, or a button to decrease, the level of arousal indication on the physiological meter. Although this latter strategy constituted an artifical means of controlling the meter readings, it was described as reflecting an important "awareness" skill through which an individual may exercise his alertness to fluctuations in his arousal and attempt to restore the desired level of performance readings.

The role of the Evaluator was described as observing the physiological meter indicating the subject's performance, and providing evaluative feedback with suggestions for performance improvement.

The experimenter then indicated that the selection of roles by the subjects would be via a blind choice of two cards, each of which supposedly contained either the Performer or the Evaluator role designation. In fact, each card was stamped with the word "Performer," and since the actual subject always chose first it was implied that the "other subject" would be assigned the role of Evaluator.

Actual subjects were then taken to an adjoining cubicle where skin electrodes were placed on their arms. During a practice trial, subjects attempted to get a feel for the task and were led to believe that they were moderately capable, and that the intervention device was operating effectively. In addition, they viewed the "introductory" practice trial of the Evaluator, and were led to believe that he was high in competence or low in competence at the task (this variable was found to have no effect whatever, and therefore is excluded from further discussion here).

The experimenter then explained that the subject would participate in two trials at each of the "low-" (maintain low levels) and "high-" (maintain high levels) arousal tasks. In each case, the subject expected to receive evaluation and suggestions from the observing Evaluator between the first and second trials. Negative evaluative feedback consisted of a rating of "poor" for the preceding trial, with the explicit suggestion to "use the intervention strategy more." A positive evaluation consisted of a rating for the preceding trial of "excellent," with the suggestion not to change the use of the intervention strategy.[1] Moreover, the effect of feedback upon behavior was measured in terms of the difference, before and after evaluation in uses of the intervention strategy. The number of intervention responses made by the subject was recorded on a digital counter.

Subjects then engaged in two three-minute trials of attempting to maintain high or low arousal readings. After the first trial, they received evaluative feedback from the Evaluator in the form of a written standarized rating delivered by the experimenter. Following the second trial, subjects received no feedback, but were introduced to the second arousal task. The two-trial sequence again followed, with evaluative feedback intervening between the first and second trials. After the final trial, subjects received no further feedback, but were asked to complete a final questionnaire regarding their self-ratings and their rating of the evaluator. They were then given a full explanation of the experimental procedures and dismissed.

The overall 2 x 2 between-subject design consisted of the variables Race of Evaluator and Valence of Feedback, each at two levels. The Evaluator was a black male or a white male (two of each were used), and his evaluative feedback was consistently negative and disapproving or positive and approving. The dependent measure of compliance on the part of subjects was calculated as the total of the difference scores for pre- and post-evaluation use of intervention on the two arousal tasks. The order of the tasks was counterbalanced and assigned randomly across subjects. The experimenter was a black male.

Results

Behavior Compliance. Since no differences were observed in the patterns of responses made by males and females,[2] the data were collapsed across sex. The mean pre- and post-evaluation uses of the intervention strategy are presented in Table 1 along with the difference scores. In preference to an analysis of change scores, an analysis of covariance was computed using the pre scores as a covariate.

Insert Table 1 about here

Recall that it was predicted that subjects would show greater compliance (greater mean difference scores) in response to negative evaluative feedback from a black than from a white evaluator. It was further hypothesized that compliance would be uniform (equal mean difference scores) in response to positive feedback from white and black Evaluators. The interaction term within the analysis of covariance corresponding to these hypotheses was found to be significant ($\underline{F}(1,35) = 9.62$, $\underline{p} < .005$).

Specifically, subjects were found to comply more in response to negative feedback from a black Evaluator than in response to negative feedback from a white Evaluator ($\underline{t}(35) = 2.84$, $\underline{p} < .01$). Furthermore, in response to positive feedback from a white or black Evaluator, subjects showed compliance in the form of change scores which did not differ from zero; and this compliance was not different across Evaluator's Race ($\underline{t}(35) < 1$).

Overall, subjects tended marginally to change their behavior in response to feedback from a black Evaluator more than in response to evaluative feedback from a white Evaluator ($\underline{F}(1,35) = 3.34$, $\underline{p} < .10$). And subjects changed their behavior more in response to negative feedback than in response to positive feedback ($\underline{F}(1,35) = 36.63$, $\underline{p} < .001$).

Self-Evaluation. Subjects made self-ratings in response to the question, "In general, how well do you maintain an awareness and control over your state of arousal," prior to the first evaluative feedback and following the last trial. The means appear in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

An analysis of covariance of these scores revealed that subjects tended overall to rate themselves as less capable relative to initial self-evaluations as a result of negative feedback than as a result of receiving positive feedback, ($F(1,35) = 7106$, $p < .05$). The overall interaction of Evaluator's Race with Valence of Feedback was not significant within the analysis of covariance ($F(1,35) = 1.17$). However, subjects showed greater changes in their self-evaluations as a result of negative feedback from a black Evaluator than as a result of negative feedback from a white Evaluator ($t(35) = 1.89$, $p \approx .07$). Negative feedback evoked greater changes in self-evaluation than did positive feedback when the Evaluator was black ($t(35) = 2.70$, $p < .01$), but not when the Evaluator was white ($t(35) = .54$).

A gain-loss theoretical interpretation (Aronson & Linder, 1965) of these results might suggest that subjects responded more to the negative reinforcement of a black Evaluator because it was perceived as more negative than the same feedback from a white Evaluator. However, an analysis of variance of subjects' responses to the question, "What do you believe the other subjects' evaluation of you is overall?" indicated that subjects correctly perceived the Evaluators as having more negative evaluations of them in the Negative than in the Positive Feedback conditions ($F(1,36) = 174.73$, $p < .001$). More importantly, they perceived the black and the white Evaluator as holding identical (mean ratings were the same) overall evaluations of them (F's for main-effect of Evaluator's Race and Interaction = 0).

Subjects also rated the Evaluator in response to the question, "To what extent were his evaluations objective?". No overall main effect for Race of the Evaluator obtained in an analysis of variance of these scores ($F = 0$), but a main effect for Valence of Feedback was significant ($F(1,36) = 4.54$, $p < .05$).

Specifically, subjects rated the white Evaluator as more objective in the positive feedback condition ($\underline{\bar{X}} = 3.7$) than in the negative feedback condition ($\underline{\bar{X}} = 2.4$) ($\underline{t}(9) = 2.45$, $\underline{p} < .05$). The black Evaluator was perceived as equally objective whether his evaluations were positive ($\underline{\bar{X}} = 3.2$) or negative ($\underline{\bar{X}} = 2.9$) ($\underline{t}(9) < 1$). These specific trends within the Valence of Feedback main effect were in support of the hypotheses, although the overall interaction effect within the analysis of variance was not significant ($\underline{F} = 1.77$).

Experiment 2

One implication of the theoretical conception offered here is that there may be circumstances in which negative evaluative feedback from white and black sources would be equally effective in evoking compliance from blacks. One such circumstance could be characterized by the operation of certain ulterior motives upon the evaluative behavior of white sources resulting in an alteration of their apparent objectivity. For instance, the motive of self-gain would require an Evaluator to make his evaluative responses contingent upon those criteria which govern his own pay-off. Where the Evaluator would gain personally from the performance of a learner, evaluative feedback must be sufficiently objective to insure that the learner's performance was trully enhanced. Moreover, by introducing the motive of self-gain we should be able to increase the apparent objectivity of negative evaluative responses from whites, and to attenuate the differential compliance to negative feedback from white and black sources demonstrated in Experiment 1.

Method

Subjects. Forty black freshmen at Princeton University participated in the study voluntarily and in return for two dollars each. The sample was comprised of males and females, although sex was not balanced.

Design and Overview. The basic paradigm, including the experimental task, was the same as that used in the first study. In the present investigation the sex of the Evaluator was matched to that of the subject in all cases. Three each of black female, black male, white female, and white male confederates were used as "Evaluators." Evaluators' Race was again manipulated at two levels (black or white) between subjects.

The variable, Evaluator's Motive, was manipulated at two levels. The control condition was a replication of the negative feedback condition in Experiment 1, where no mention was made of any benefits the Evaluator might derive from successfully influencing the subject's performances. In the Self-Gain condition, subjects were told that the Evaluator could earn experimental pay in accordance with the successfulness (amount of time within the desired range of meter readings) of the subject's performance. The implication was that the Evaluator could benefit personally from an accurate and successful strategy of evaluation which would enhance the performance of the Performer.

In both the control and the experimental conditions subjects were led to expect that they themselves would earn additional experimental pay according to the level of their performances.

In the present study, subjects engaged in three successive trials of attempting to maintain "high" levels of meter readings through strategies of self-control and "intervention." They made self-ratings before receiving evaluative feedback from the Evaluator. They received feedback following the first and second trials, but received no feedback following the third trial.

Subjects received consistently negative feedback and the Evaluators' apparent competence was held constant at a moderate level. The primary dependent measures were the change in the use of the strategy of intervention (number of times subject pushed the "increase" and "decrease" buttons on his/her panel) from the first to the third trial, and the change in subjects' self-evaluated capacity to "maintain an awareness and control of arousal." In addition, on the final questionnaire, administered after the third trial, subjects rated the Evaluator on the dimensions of objectivity, likeability, and manipulativeness.

Results

Behavior Compliance. It was hypothesized that subjects in a control condition would show greater behavioral compliance in response to the negative feedback of black Evaluators than of white Evaluators. It was further hypothesized that compliance would be roughly equal in response to the negative feedback of black and white Evaluators for whom the motive of personal gain was introduced (Experimental condition).

These hypotheses were tested in an analysis of covariance of the scores of the uses of the intervention strategy on the initial (pre-evaluation) trial and the uses recorded on the final trial (following two evaluations). The mean scores appear in Table 3 along with the difference scores.

Insert Table 3 about here

It will be noted that the interaction of Evaluator's Race and Evaluator's Motive was marginally significant ($\underline{F}(1,35) = 3.50$, $\underline{p} \approx .07$). Specifically, subjects in the Control condition showed greater change in behavior in response to the negative feedback from black Evaluators than in respone to white Evaluators ($\underline{t}(35) = 2.27$, $\underline{p} < .02$). This result replicates the findings of the first investigation reported here, and supports the hypothesis. Additional support of the hypotheses offered here consists in the non-significant difference in behavioral compliance by subjects in response to black and white Evaluators in the Experimental condition ($\underline{t}(35) = .35$).

Self-Evaluation. Subjects rated themselves in response to the question, "How well do you maintain and control your state of arousal?", prior to receiving the first evaluative feedback and following the final trial. These self-ratings appear in Table 4, along with the difference scores reflecting the pre-post changes in these self-ratings. An analysis of covariance of the difference scores yielded no significant trends.

Insert Table 4 about here

Contrary to predictions, subjects were not found to change their self-evaluations more in response to the feedback of white Evaluators perceived to be motivated by personal gain than in response to white Evaluators in the Control condition.

The interaction of Evaluators' Race and Evaluators' motive was nonsignificant (*F*(1,35) = .52).

Ratings of the Evaluator. On the final questionnaire which they completed, subjects rated the Evaluator on the dimensions of objectivity and also on the dimensions of likeability, and manipulativeness (See Table 5). Black Evaluators were perceived as less objective in the Self-Gain condition than in the Control, and white Evaluators were been as more objective in the Self-Gain condition than in the Control condition. This interaction was strongly reflected within an analysis of variance of the ratings of objectivity (*F*(1,35) = 9.14, *p* < .005).

Insert Table 5 about here

On likeability there was an overall main-effect for Evaluator's Motive (*F*(1,36) = 7.87, *p* < .01) with Self-Gain Evaluators seen as less likeable. However, this trend was significant only for black Evaluators (*t*(36) = 3.55, *p* < .005), while white Evaluators were seen as equally likeable in the Control and Self-Gain conditions (*t*(36) < 1).

On the dimension of "manipulativeness" there was a main-effect for Evaluator's Motivation (*F*(1,36) = 7.00, *p* < .025). Although the direction of the trend was consistent across the Race of Evaluator conditions, only white Evaluators were seen as significantly more manipulative in the Self-Gain condition than in the Control (*t*(36) = 2.16, *p* < .05), while no difference was found for black Evaluators (*t*(36) < 1).

Discussion

It has been proposed here that the behavioral and self-evaluative reactions of blacks to social reinforcements depend upon the degree to which the source of those reinforcements is perceived as objective. The general framework which underlies this theoretical interpretation relates to the cognitive-inferential processes which contribute to the attribution of objectivity.

The results of the experiments reported here lend support to this model. White Evaluators in the first study were seen as less objective when their evaluative feedback was negative than when it was positive, while black Evaluators were perceived as equally objective across positive and negative feedback conditions. Correspondingly, subjects complied equally with the positive evaluative feedback of both Evaluators. But the compliance evoked by negative feedback was greater when the source of evaluation was black (objective) then when he was white (non-objective).

The test of this hypothesis in the second study was more specific. When the apparent objectivity of white and black sources was manipulated, the pattern of divergent compliance to negative feedback across Evaluator's Race was attenuated.

As discussed earlier, a source of evaluative feedback will be perceived as objective insofar as his reinforcements are contingent upon the behaviors, and instrumental to the outcomes, of the recipient. In this regard we may conceive of two separate dimensions ("contingent" and "instrumental") of objectivity, and the motive of self-gain on the part of the Evaluators could have had a highly specific effect upon their apparent objectivity. Such a motive could lead to a tendency to be highly objective with regard to the stimulus upon which reinforcements are contingent. (Only to the degree that it is the recipients' behavior that is being shaped would the reinforcer benefit in increased personal gain.) However, the instrumental goal (increased pay) of reinforcement would certainly not be objective from the point of the recipient's view, since the gain for which reinforcement is instrumental would be perceived primarily as that of the reinforcer rather than the recipient.

Moreover, for a black Evaluator, who is perceived generally to be high in both contingent and instrumental objectivity, the net effect of introducing the motive of self-gain may have been specifically to reduce only his apparent instrumental objectivity. Conversely, the net effect of the self-gain motive upon the perception by blacks of a white Evaluator could be specifically to increase only his apparent contingent objectivity.[3]

The difference, then, in the perception of the black Evaluators in the Experimental condition (relative to the control) should be that they appeared more selfish, or less empathically interested in the hedonic goals of the subject. Moreover, they might have appeared as less "likeable" than black Evaluators in the control condition. Furthermore, since the instrumental objectivity of white Evaluators should have remained unchanged across the manipulation of Motive, no differences in likeability should have obtained for them. This is an accurate characterization of the empirical results.

It was more difficult to conceive of what dimension of person-perception should relate to the apparent dispassionate objectivity or non-objectivity of an Evaluator. Tentatively, it was assumed that "degree of manipulativeness" may be the characteristic which distinguishes an individual who is objectively self-interested from one who is not, in a social context.

White Evaluators should have been perceived as more manipulative, in this sense, when they were apparently motivated by self-gain than when they were not. In the same sense, black Evaluators should not have differed across the experimental and control conditions on the dimension of manipulativeness. The results reported earlier lend some confidence to these conceptions.

The patterns of self-evaluative reactions by our subjects were less consistent than behavioral compliance. In the first study, changes in self-evaluation were consistent with behavioral compliance, and with our hypotheses. In the second study subjects did not change their self-evaluations differentially in response to the manipulations of Evaluator's Race or Evaluator's Motive. As discrepant as these patterns are, however, it is interesting to note the common outcome in which they eventuated. In both studies, a higher level of self-evaluation was maintained following the negative feedback of apparently non-objective sources.

What is clear from these results is that the global conception of the devastating effects of negative social reinforcement upon blacks cannot be affirmed. Certain cognitive processes which are likely to mediate the impact of any social evaluative information upon the individual appear in particular to provide a buffer for black persons against the negative feedback of white sources. One implication is that the development of negative self concept, persumed to derive from the effects of such social evaluation, may have little actual substance within the personalities of black individuals (see Banks, in press).

Furthermore, while in the present study the nature of the empirical issue addressed has limited the direct implications of this evidence to black persons, the theoretical issues raised in our analysis may extend more generally. Thus, while one implication of the present research should be a need for further investigation of these processes in black persons, another would clearly be the exploration of the present model within the wider field of social influence processes.

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FOOTNOTES

This research was supported by a grant to the senior author from the Social Science Research Council. The authors appreciate the comments of E. T. Higgins, M. Zanna, P. Zimbardo and I. Katz with whose help earlier drafts were improved. Requests for reprints should be sent to W. Curtis Banks, Department of Psychology, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey 08540.

[1] These divergent prescriptions for behavior, following positive and negative feedback, were conceived as representing most closely the normal implications of social evaluation. Approval normally conveys a desire that the behavior upon which it is contingent be continued as appropriate. Disapproval generally conveys the suggestion that change is required.

[2] Analyses of covariance including a breakdown of subjects by sex yielded no main-effect for sex, or interactions between that variable and the experimental conditions, for Experiment 1 or Experiment 2.

[3] It should be clear that several assumptions which contribute to these hypotheses (for instance, the presumed additive relationship of the separate dimensions of instrumental and contingent objectivity) cannot be fully explicated here.

Table 1

Mean Pre- and Post- Feedback Behavior Scores*

	Positive Feedback			Negative Feedback		
	Pre		Post	Pre		Post
Black Evaluator	6.0	(-.9)	5.1	9.2	(15.9)	25.1
White Evaluator	3.8	(-.1)	3.7	5.2	(5.7)	10.9

*Mean Pre-Post difference scores for pre- and post-feedback use of intervention appear in parentheses.

Table 2

Mean Pre- and Post- Feedback Self-Ratings[*]

	Positive Feedback			Negative Feedback		
	Pre		Post	Pre		Post
Black Evaluator	4.0	(.1)	4.1	4.0	(-.9)	3.1
White Evaluator	4.4	(0)	4.4	3.9	(-.2)	3.7

[*] Mean Pre-Post difference scores appear in parentheses.

Table 3

Mean Trial 1 (Pre) and Trial 3 (Post) Behavior Scores*

Experiment 2

	Control			Self-Gain		
	Pre		Post	Pre		Post
Black Evaluator	.6	(9.3)	9.9	.5	(5.5)	6.0
White Evaluator	.6	(2.7)	3.3	.6	(6.5)	7.1

*Mean Pre-Post difference scores appear in parentheses.

Table 4

Mean Pre- and Post-Evaluation Self-Ratings of "Awareness and Control of Arousal"

Experiment 2

	Evaluator's Motive			
	Control		Self-Gain	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Black Evaluator	2.3	1.2	2.3	1.1
	(1.1)		(1.2)	
White Evaluator	3.0	1.7	1.7	.8
	(1.3)		(.9)	

Mean Pre-Post difference scores appear in parentheses.

Table 5

Mean Ratings by Subjects of the Evaluators

	Black Evaluator		White Evaluator	
	Control	Self-Gain	Control	Self-Gain
"Objectivity"	2.6	1.8	1.8	2.6
"Likeability"	3.2	2.2	2.6	2.3
"Manipulativeness"	1.1	1.3	1.4	2.5

APPENDIX I

Copy of Conference Program

THE THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN BLACK PSYCHOLOGY

October 28-31, 1976

Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

INTRODUCTION

Within the last seven to ten years, academic-research oriented psychology departments in the United States have begun to graduate a significant number of Black American research psychologists. Due to the tremendous need for minority input at all levels of higher education, frequently these talented researchers feel compelled to become involved in numerous university committees on "minority affairs" which inevitably cuts into time set aside for research. In other instances the researchers end up as the only Black person in their respective psychology programs, and should their research focus on the Black experience, they may not receive the support and constructive criticism needed to sustain and refine such research ventures. For those researchers who do have the time and support for research, there is often the problem of overcoming the negative connotation given research in Black communities during the Black Power Movement. For these and a variety of related reasons, three years ago two young Black psychologists (Frank Yates, a mathematical psychologist at the University of Michigan, and A. Wade Boykin, an experimental psychologist at Cornell University) decided there was a need to have a series of conferences that would emphasize the value of research in the analysis of issues related to Black Psychology. Their plan called for a setting wherein a small group of young Black psychologists would come together to critique and present research papers, generate intellectual support for research projects that have not caught the fancy of mainstream psychology, and, to in general, promote a research orientation in the field of Black Psychology. Yates and Boykin believed that the best mechanism for accomplishing these goals is the small closed-door research conference because such a format is uninhibited by organizational constraints, publicity demands, and pressures for "glamour".

The first conference was held in June of 1974 at the University of Michigan, and the second in June-1975 at Columbia University. The papers presented at the first two conferences are scheduled to be published in the Spring of 1977 in a text edited by Yates and Boykin along with A. J. Franklin, Ph. D.

CONFERENCE III

The Third Annual Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology will be held October 28-31, 1976 at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. Our third meeting has been made possible by a grant from the National Institute of Education (N.I.E.) for which we are greatly appreciative. The conference organizers are particularly grateful to Professor Curtis Banks, of the Department of Psychology at Princeton University, the person who originally contacted N.I.E. in support of our grant proposal.

This letter contains general information about Conference III as well as the conference program.

TRANSPORTATION

Cornell University is located within central New York State in the city of Ithaca. Ithaca is serviced by Allegheny Airlines; Allegheny has direct and/or connecting flights from a number of major cities such as Pittsburgh, Chicago, Washington D.C., and New York City. Contact your local travel agent for specific information. Conference participants should arrange for and purchase their own airline tickets. Transportation expenses, including taxi service to and from airports as well as airport parking fees, will be reimbursed. Reimbursement will be made upon submission of receipts to William E. Cross at Cornell University.

If you plan to arrive by plane, Tompkins County Airport is located about seven minutes from the motel (see below). In most cases the Airline Limousine Service (607/273-3030) will meet incoming flights and for about $3.00 they will take you directly to your motel. Otherwise, a taxi may be ordered by dialing one of the following numbers:273-8513; 273-3333; 273-8038.

ACCOMMODATIONS

Rooms have been reserved at the COLLEGETOWN MOTOR LODGE, 312 College Avenue in Ithaca, New York (607/273-3542). The lodge is located about a block from the Cornell campus and about three blocks from Uris Hall where all the sessions will be held. In most cases, two participants will share a room. Participants will pay for their rooms and then be reimbursed by sending motel receipts to W. E. Cross at Cornell University.

MEALS

A local catering service will provide buffet luncheons as well as banquet-style dinners for invited participants; there will be no charge for these meals. Participants are asked to make arrangements for breakfast; as a suggestion, the Rathskeller Room of the Statler Inn offers breakfast every morning (except Sunday) starting at 7:30 a.m. The Statler Inn is a part of the Cornell University Hotel School, and it is located next to Uris Hall (the building in which the conference will be held).

LOCATION OF CONFERENCE

The conference will take place in room 202 of Uris Hall on the campus of Cornell University. URIS HALL is not to be confused with Uris Library. Uris Hall is located directly opposite Day Hall, the central administration building of the university.

PAPERS

The first draft of papers to be presented at the conference should have been forwarded to Algea Harrison several weeks ago; otherwise, look at the conference program and determine who is your discussant. As the conference is only a few weeks from now, send a copy of your first draft directly to your discussant (see address list at end of this letter).

The FINAL version of the papers presented at the conference must be forwarded to William Cross at Cornell by DECEMBER 1, 1976. As is generally the case with conferences funded by government agencies, the reimbursement of expenses is dependent upon completion of conference papers. Consequently, please note that a participant cannot receive a reimbursement check until he/she has forwarded the final version of her/his paper to William Cross.

PUBLICATION OF PAPERS

Sixty days after the conference, the conference organizers must submit a "conference report" to N.I.E. The Conference report will contain copies of all of the papers presented at the conference; one copy of the report will be sent to each person who participated in the conference.

Algea Harrison has indicated that Academic Press is interested in publishing the papers from the Third Conference; she will discuss this and other publication options at the conference.

NON-INVITED PARTICIPANTS

The conference is closed to outside non-invited participants. Local observers are welcome to join the sessions and social functions. Unfortunately, we must require non-invited participants to pay their own meal expenses.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

For additional information please feel free to contact Algea Harrison or William Cross.

PROGRAM and WORKING FORMAT

The conference will focus on sessions in which invited participants present and discuss one another's current research projects. You will note that after each presenter's paper title is listed another participants name in parentheses. The person indicated in parentheses is the discussant for the respective paper. The role of the discussant is to provide a formal sounding board and stimulus for detailed group discussion of the paper. The discussant is encouraged to have read the paper prior to the conference and to have considered several kinds of issues surrounding the paper. For example: What are reasonable suggestions for further study or clarification of the issuses addressed by the study? What theories seem to be pertinent to the problem? What are the implications of the results? How might the conclusions be applied to situations in Black America?

To facilitate discussions, each participant is encouraged to bring 15-20 copies of a summary or expanded abstract that also includes key statistical charts and/or tables. If such a summary/abstract is forwarded to William Cross several days before the conference, he will copy and distribute the abstracts for you.

3rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN BLACK PSYCHOLOGY

October 28-31, 1976

Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28

Evening: Arrival and registration at Collegetown Motor Lodge

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29

8:30 - 9:00 A.M. Registration - 202 Uris Hall

9:00 - 9:15 A.M. Opening Remarks - William E. Cross, Jr.

9:30 - 12:00 P.M. Presentation/Discussion Session #1

Wade Boykin, "Experimental Psychology Fron A Black Perspective"
(William Cross)

Frederick Dube, "Story Recall as Influenced by Intelligence and Education: A Cross Cultural Study Involving Africans and Americans"

12:00 - 1:30 P.M. LUNCH

1:30 - 5:00 P.M. Presentation/Discussion Session #2

Robert Bently, "The Relationship Between Cognitive Tasks and School Achievement"
(John Bolling)

James Savage, "The Effects of Race of the Tester on Black Children's Intellectual Performance: A Multivariate Approach"
(Harriette McAdoo)

Oscar Barbarin, "Self-Evaluation, Locus of Control, Social Climate and Adabtive Behavior in Black and White College Students"
(William Cross)

5:00 - 7:30 P.M. DINNER

7:30 - 9:30 P.M. Evening Session

Jerome Taylor Jake Milliones, "The Pittsburgh Project" (James Jackson)

Saturday, October 30

8:00 - 8:30 A.M. Coffee and Friendship

8:30 - 12:00 P.M. Presentation/Discussion #3

James Jackson, "The Effects of Quantity and Quality of Prior Cross-Racial Contact on Self-Reported Test Anxiety in Black Adolescents" (James Savage)

John Bolling, "Sex Differentiation Versus Sex Identification: Cultural Considerations" (William Lawson)

Curtis Banks, "Effects of Evaluative Feedback From Black and White Sources Upon Compliance and Self-Evaluation in Blacks" (Jerome Taylor)

12:00 - 1:30 P.M. LUNCH

1:30 - 5:00 P.M. Presentation/Discussion Session #4

Carl Word, "The Role of Television on the Conflict Resolution Strategies of Black Children and Adolescents" (Wade Boykin)

John McAdoo, "The Relationship Between Black Father-Child Interactions and Self-Esteem in Pre-School Children" (Jake Milliones)

Algea Harrison, "Reference Groups for Attractiveness Among Black and White College Women" (Oscar Barbarin)

5:00 - 7:30 P.M. DINNER

7:30 - 9:30 P.M. 2nd Evening Session

Harriette McAdoo, "A Re-examination of the Relationship Between Self-Concept and Race Attitudes of Young Black Children" (Curtis Banks)

Wade Boykin, "Relationship Between Problem-Solving and Format Variety in Black and White Children: Replication and Extension" (John McAdoo)

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 31

9:00 - 9:30 A. M. Catered Breakfast 202 Uris Hall

9:30 - 10:30 A. M. Presentation/Discussion Session #5

William Lawson, "Taste Detection Threshold in Diabetic and Non-Diabetic Relatives" (Robert Bently)

10:30 - 12:00 P. M. Planning Session for Conference IV.

3rd Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology

October 31, 1976 Cornell University

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